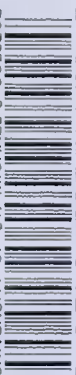


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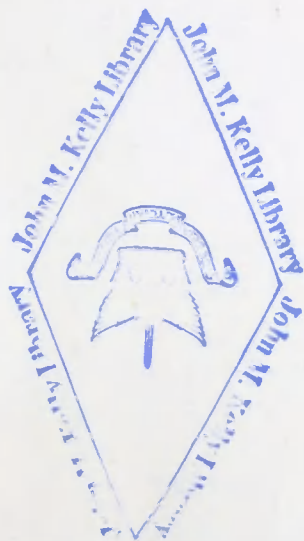






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# A GRAMMAR OF OLD IRISH





# A GRAMMAR OF OLD IRISH

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## PREFACE.

THURNEYSEN'S *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen* is destined to remain, for many years to come, the standard grammar of Old Irish. Unfortunately it is a sealed book to the majority of our Irish students who are not acquainted with the German language, and consequently the want of a grammar in English has been felt in many quarters. Since it is a part of my duties at this University to deliver two lectures on Old Irish Grammar weekly during Term, I undertook a year ago to produce a grammar which should at least prove useful as a book of reference, and after many distractions I have completed it. It has proved by no means an easy task to compress the important facts of Old Irish grammar, together with the indispensable indices, within the prescribed limits of about two hundred pages, and no one can be more keenly conscious of the present work's defects than the author—but *is leor ó Mhór a dtícheall*.

My best thanks are due, in the first place, to Dr. Rudolf Thurneysen for his kind permission to make use of his *Handbuch* and to adopt some of his classifications in the hope of winning for them general recognition. I may here express also my indebtedness to Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*, Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen* and *Aspirationen i Irsk*, Vendryès' *Grammaire du vieil irlandais*, Sarauw's *Irske Studier*, Strachan's *Old Irish Paradigms* and *Selections from the Glosses*, the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, and numerous articles in the *Revue Celtique*, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, and

*Ériu.* My thanks are also due to Professor O. J. Bergin of the National University, Mr. E. J. Gwynn, F.T.C.D., Mr. Walter J. Purton, and to my colleagues Professor R. M. Henry and Mr. A. O. Belfour for reading proofs and for many valuable suggestions; further to the Finance Committee of this University for a grant in aid of publication: and lastly to Mr. John Boyd of the firm of Mayne & Boyd for the courteous interest which he has displayed and the careful supervision which he has exercised in the production of the work.

To the scholar I apologise for the liberties I have taken in the transliteration of Sanskrit words, especially in the matter of Visarga, but I did not consider that they occurred so frequently as to warrant the expense of procuring special type.

The Appendix containing grammatical terms I have added in order to show Irish students who are interested in the preservation and development of the Modern language how, by a process partly of boldly borrowing, partly of as boldly translating, our ancestors overcame the difficulty of new technical terms.

In conclusion let me direct the student's attention to the list of Corrigenda and request him to follow the advice of the old glossator—'*cocart!*'

FEARDORCHA UA CONAILL.

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*Aidchi Féile Pádraice, 1912.*

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## TABLE OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS AND SYMBOLS.

Anlaut	= the initial sound of a word.
Absolute anlaut	= the initial sound of a word unaffected by a preceding sound.
Inlaut	= a sound occurring in the interior of a word or syllable.
Auslaut	= the final sound of a word.
Ablaut	= variation of the root-vowel.
Sh'va	= the Hebrew name of the obscure unaccented vowel like <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>begin</i> ,
Proto-Keltic	= the Keltic language before its division into the Gadelic and Britannic branches.
Prototonic	= accented on the first syllable.
Deuterotonic	= accented on the second syllable.
<	= reduced from.      > = reduced to.

\* denotes a hypothetical form. In the paradigms of the verbs, forms in parentheses are such as do not occur but may be safely deduced.

Prototonic verbal forms are denoted by a point prefixed thus—*tucad*.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

Arm.	= Armenian.	O.H.G.	= Old High German.
Bret.	= Breton.	O. Sl.	= Old Slavonic.
Goth.	= Gothic.	Skr.	= Sanskrit.
Gk.	= Greek.	W.	= Welsh.
Dor. Gk.	= Doric Greek.	Gl.	= Milan Glosses.
Id.-G.	= Indo-Germanic.	S.G.	= St. Gall Glosses.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tur.	= Turin Glosses.
O. Lat.	= Old Latin.	Wb.	= Würzburg Glosses.
Med. Lat.	= Medieval Latin.	L.U.	= Lebor na h-Uidri.
Lett.	= Lettish.	Hb.	= Handbuch.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Thurn.	= Thurneysen.
Bk. of Arm.	= Book of Armagh.		
V.G.	= Vergleichende Grammatik.		

## CORRIGENDA.

Page	7 line	17	for <i>fied</i>	read <i>fiad</i>
„	30	„ 24	„ - <i>iā</i> -stems	„ - <i>iā</i> - ( <i>iē</i> -) stems
„	33	„ 5	„ <i>muice</i>	„ <i>muicc</i>
„	37	„ 26	„ 'host'	„ 'Host'
„	37	„ 27	„ Ériu	„ <i>Ériu</i>
„	40	„ 26	„ of 'Jesus'	„ of <i>Ísu</i> 'Jesus.'
„	45	„ 11, 12	„ e.q.	„ eq.
„	45	„ 27, 33	„ <i>firián</i> , &c.	„ <i>fírián</i> , &c.
„	46	„ 36, 37	„ <i>co</i> <sup>n</sup>	„ <i>co</i>
„	47	„ 1	„ nasalization	„ lenition
„	57	„ 30	„ n. side, pl. sidi	„ n. <i>side</i> , pl. <i>sidi</i>
„	58	„ 20	„ <i>saithar</i>	„ <i>saithar</i>
„	63	„ 2	„ <i>comtcachtmar</i>	„ <i>comtachtmar</i>

## INTRODUCTION.

Old Irish may be divided into three stages as follows:—

**First Stage**, represented by many Ogham inscriptions and a few early inscriptions in the Roman character. The chief characteristic of this stage is the retention of some of the original case endings, e.g. *magi* (*macci*), *inigena*, *Ercias*.

**Second Stage**, represented by later inscriptions in the Roman character, the *prima manus* of the Würzburg Glosses, the Cambrai Homily, the Turin palimpsest, the Codices Philargyrii, and the Irish names recorded in the Book of Armagh by Muirchu maccu Maethéni and Tírechán, and in Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*. This stage is characterized by the preservation of long *é* and *ó*, of the true diphthongs *ōi* and *āi*, of unaccented *ě* and *ǫ* between non-palatal consonants, of pretonic *to* (*tu*) in verbs, of *i* and *e* after non-palatal consonants, and of *-o* in gen. sing. of *-i-* and *-u-* stems, e.g. *Céran*, *Fécc*, *soos*, *ood*, *Lōiguire*, *Oingus*, *Bāitán*, *Cāichán*, *Ached*, *ōchter*, *edocht*, *tuthégot*, *toncomra*, *Caplit*, *argit*, *Ailello*, *brátho*.

**Third Stage**, represented by the rest of the Würzburg and other Continental Glosses; pieces of Old Irish prose in the Book of Armagh, *Lebor na h-Uidre* and other MSS.; Old Irish poems at St. Gall, Milan, and St. Paul's Kloster, Carinthia; Féilire Oengusso, and the Irish Hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*. In the language of this stage *é* and *ó* have become *ia* and *ua*, *oí* and *aí* are written *oe* and *ae*, *ě* and *ǫ* in unaccented syllables > *a*, *i* and *e* after non-palatal consonants are written *ai* (*ui*) and *ae*, pretonic *to* (*tu*) > *do* (*du*), and *-o* in gen. sing. of *-i-* and *-u-* stems > *a*; e.g. *Ciaran*, *suas*, *Loeguire*, *Baetán*, *Achad*, *edacht*, *do-thlagat*, *argait*, *brátha*. The verbal form *tuthégot* (2nd stage) contains three archaisms in as many syllables, viz. *tu-* (later *do-*, *du-*), *-thég-* (later *-thiag-*), *-ot* (later *-at*), prehistoric Irish = \**to-steighont*.

As the First Stage is represented merely by inscriptions composed of proper names linked together by means of *magi* or *avi*, and as the Second Stage is practically confined to proper names or glosses consisting of single words, Old Irish grammar draws its material chiefly from the Third Stage. The forms dealt with in the present work are mainly those which occur in the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. The total period covered by the three stages is, roughly, from the fifth to the tenth century.

## I.—PHONOLOGY.

1. The cumbersome Ogham alphabet, itself based on the Latin alphabet, with its curious system of easily confused dots and strokes (in fact it resembled a signalling code rather than an alphabet), was soon abandoned in favour of the Roman. The latter, although more convenient for literary purposes, was far from being a perfect medium for the representation of Irish sounds, the result being that one letter frequently represented two distinct sounds, so that a sentence in Old Irish is almost as incomplete orthographically as a sentence in unpointed Hebrew.

2. The letters *k*, *y*, and *z* only occur in foreign words, e.g. *príd kalde* (*pridie kalendas*), *ymmon* (*hymnum*), *baitzisi* (from *baptizo*); *q* is found in loan words as *aequinocht*, *quart*-, and also in Irish *uisque* (probably after the analogy of Lat. *usque*); *x* is sometimes used for *chs*, e.g. *oxalib* from *ochsal* = *axilla*, *foxal* as well as *fochsál*.

3. *h* represented no sound, although a genuine *h*-sound existed in Old Irish. Its principal uses seem to have been (a) to give greater substance to monosyllables consisting of only one or two letters, e.g. *hi*, *hó*, *hé*, *hed*, for *i*, *ó*, *é*, *ed*; (b) in such words as *huile*, *huisse* to prevent the Latin pronunciation *vile*, *visse*; (c) to mark hiatus in cases like *Israhel*, *ro-hucad*, *rehe*. *ch*, *th*, *ph* were used to represent the spirants *χ*, *þ*, *f* (*c* is sometimes written for *ch*, e.g. *act*, *fect*, *cumacte*); *ph* is used instead of *f* when the spirant results from an aspirated *p* and at the end of a syllable, e.g. *in phreceptóri*, *olp<sup>h</sup>*, *neph-ní*; when the spirant arises from the aspiration of primitive *sy* either *f* or *ph* is used, e.g. *tinfed* and *tinphed* (for *-syed*). Apart from these uses *h* seems to have been an orthographical luxury. (*h* is once miswritten for *ch*, viz. *menmnihi* Wb. 18 a 21, and once used to mark a long vowel, viz. *TERNOHC* in an Old Irish inscription.)

4. *g*, *d*, *b*, *m*, represented not only the voiced stops and labials but also the voiced spirants *γ*, *ð*, *β*, *μ* (nasal *v*); *c*, *t*, *p*, represented both voiceless and voiced stops, the

latter after vowels and sometimes after consonants. *c, t, p*, represent voiceless stops in absolute anlaut, after vowels either voiceless or voiced stops; *g, d, b, m*, represent voiced stops and the labio-nasal (*a*) in absolute anlaut, (*b*) when doubled, (*c*) in the consonantal groups *nd, ld, mb*; after vowels and most consonants they may represent either voiced stops or voiced spirants.

The following expansion and illustration of the above rules may prove useful to the student:—

The sounds *k, t, p*, are written :

1. *c, t, p*, at the beginning of a word not preceded by another word causing nasalization; e.g. *cossa, tír, peccad*; but *a cossa, a tír, a peccad* (meaning 'their feet, &c.') are sounded *a gossa, a dír, a beccad*.

2. *c*, or *cc, t, p*, in the interior or at the end of a word, *cc* usually after *l, r, s*; e.g. *olcc, sercc, coscc, macc, íc* or *ícc, freccor* or *frecor, ata, art, apstal*.

The sounds *g, d, b*, are written :

1. *g, d, b*, at the beginning of a word not preceded by a word causing aspiration; e.g. *guth, dán, bás*; but *a guth, a dán, a bás* (meaning 'his voice, &c.') are sounded *a γuth, a δán, a βás*.

2. *c* or *cc, t, p*, in the interior or at the end of a word, e.g. *éc, becc, do-uccus, fota* (Mod. I. *ῥαϑα*), *apaig*.

3. *gg, dd, bb*, in S.G. and Bk. of Arm. in the same circumstances as 2, e.g. *arggit, condeilgg, ardd, abbaith*.

The sounds *γ, δ, β, μ* are written *g, d, b, m*.

1. in lenited anlaut, e.g. after *a* 'his,' *a guth, a dán, a ben, a máthir*.

2. in the inlaut and auslaut after vowels and most consonants, e.g. *tige, lóg, adrad, lobur, marb, demin, tarum*. A comparison of the various spellings found is necessary in order to determine the sound in some instances, thus, that the *g, d, b, m* of *condelg, ard, burbe* (second *b*), *guidim*, are unlenited is proved by the variants *condelc, art, burpe, guidimm*.



In doubtful cases the Modern language is the only guide. Probably  $\gamma$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\mu$  had each two pronunciations as in Modern Irish, viz. *broad*  $\gamma$  = a voiced velar spirant,  $\beta$  a rounded bilabial spirant,  $\mu$  = nasal  $\beta$ ; *slender*  $\gamma$  = a voiced palatal aspirant,  $\beta$  = an unrounded bilabial spirant,  $\mu$  = nasal ditto.

5. Long vowels are usually denoted by an acute accent, in the older MSS. sometimes by doubling, e.g. *baan*, *bees*, *ruun*; in cases of doubling frequently the accent is also employed and is then written indifferently over the first or second vowel: similarly in the case of the long diphthongs, e.g. *ái* or *aí*, *ói* or *oí*, which for grammatical purposes are in this book written invariably *aí*, *oí*, in order to distinguish them from a long vowel followed by the glide *i* as in *láim*.

6. A dot written over the letters *s* and *f* denotes lenition, it is also written over the transposed *n* and *m* in nasalized anlaut, e.g. *is inse nduit*, *dered mbetho*, and over *n* in inlaut between two consonants, e.g. *frecndairc*, *forngaire*.

7. In MSS. words which group themselves together about a principal accent are written as one word, e.g. *triahesséirgesom*, *hicechoinalaithe*. The following are some of the contractions employed:—

$\gamma$  = Lat. *et* = I. *ocus*, 'and.'

$\dot{t}$  = Lat. *vel* = I. *nó*, *nu*, 'or.'

*añ* = *amal* (older *amail*), 'like,' 'as,' 'as if.'

*dǎ* = *danau*, *dano*, 'then,' 'further,' 'also.'

*dí* = *didiu*, *didu*, 'hence.'

*im̃* or *imr* = *immurgu*, 'moreover,' 'but,' 'yet.'

*i.* = Lat. *id est*, I. *ed ón*, 'viz.'

## PRONUNCIATION.

8. The pronunciation of Old Irish seems to have differed considerably from that of the modern dialects, notably in the following particulars:—*th* was a voiceless spirant and *dh* a voiced spirant as proved by the Old Icelandic transcriptions of Irish names, e.g. *Dufþakr* = *Dubthach*, *Taðkr* = *Tadg*. Short vowels were not lengthened by groups or

by dying consonants, e.g. *tīgě, cěnn, gěrr, ěrd, &c.*; final *ĩ* and *ě* were quite distinct, e.g. *cěle, cěli*; lenited *b, m, d, g*, were fully pronounced and did not lengthen or diphthongize preceding short vowels. In Modern Irish *th* has become an *h*-sound, and *dh* is pronounced like *gh* except that in anlaut before *e* or *i*, *dh* has a weaker articulation than *gh* in similar positions.

#### ASPIRATION OR LENITION.

9. In Old Irish a single consonant between two vowels was more loosely articulated than in absolute anlaut, and this phonetic change has been termed both aspiration and lenition. Strictly speaking, aspiration occurs only in the case of the stops *c, t*, (*p* in loan words), *g, d, b*, and the labio-nasal *m*, which are thereby reduced to the spirants *x, ɸ, f, γ, ʃ, β, μ*; the spirants *s, ʃ*, the liquids *l, r*, and the nasal *n*, undergo a similar change more properly called lenition.

10. The aspirated forms of *c, t, p*, are represented in writing by *ch, th, ph*, (v. § 3), and the lenited forms of *s*, and *f*, are (in later MSS.) denoted by a dot written over the consonants. In SG. and later MSS. the aspiration of *c, t, p*, is also marked by writing the sign for the Greek *spiritus asper* over the consonants. In this phonology lenited *g, b, l, m, n, r* are denoted by the Greek letters *γ, β, λ, μ, ν, ρ*.

11. *ch* represents the velar and palatal voiceless spirants, i.e. *ch* in German *ach* and *ich*; for the sounds of the other spirants v. §§ 3, 4, 8. Lenited *s* was pronounced as *h*, lenited *f* was silent and consequently sometimes omitted altogether in writing, e.g. *immolang* for *immfolang*; in this case lenition occurred before pre-historic *ʁ* had developed to *f*, and the lenition of *ʁ* produces a mere breath, cf. English *e'er, e'en*, from *ever, even*. A true lenited *f* occurs in Modern Irish and is pronounced *h*, e.g. *mé fhéin* (*héin*), *glanfad* (*glanhad*).

12. *l, n, r* had each four distinct sounds which I repre-

sent by the following symbols :—*ł* = a dental-guttural *l*, the thick *l* of Slavonic languages closely resembling the genuine English sound of *l* in *milk*, *mild* ; *l̥* = lenited form of *ł*, the ordinary alveolar *l* in English *lot* ; *L* = the palatal lateral *l*, English *ll* in *million* ; *l̥* = lenited *L*, an alveolar *l* with slight palatalization.

*ŋ* = an ambidental nasal, the thick *n* of Slavonic languages, somewhat like initial *n* in French *non* ; *n̥* = lenited *ŋ*, alveolar *n* as in English *not* ; *N* = the palatal nasal English *ni* in *pinion*, French *gn* in *agneau* ; *n̥* = lenited *N*, a slightly palatalized alveolar *n*. In the Modern Irish dialects of Connacht and Ulster the above distinctions of the sounds of *l* and *n* are still observed, but of the corresponding *r*-series only two sounds remain, viz., *ṛ* and *r̥*.

13. *l*, *n*, are unlenited (a) in absolute anlaut, (b) in anlaut after unlenited *s*, (c) in inlaut after *r* and *s*, (d) in anlaut in the group *nl* (*ln* are assimilated to *ł* and *L*), (e) in anlaut before *s*, *t*, *d*, and *r*, (f) *ll*, *nn* between vowels or in auslaut = unlenited *l*, *n*. *r* probably remained unlenited in similar positions, but here the modern language gives little assistance towards reconstruction.

#### ASPIRATION AND LENITION IN ANLAUT.

##### 14. Aspiration or lenition of a consonant occurs—

###### A

- (a) after the dat. sg. of the article and of substantives.
- (b) after the nom. sg. of all feminine nouns.
- (c) after the gen. sg. of masc. and neut. nouns and the nom. pl. of masc. nouns of *o*- and *io*-stems.
- (d) after the nom. and voc. pl. of neut. nouns except when they end in *-a*, in which case the use varies.
- (e) after the nom. acc. and gen. dual masc. and fem.
- (f) after the neuter substantive pronoun *alaill*, the interrogative pronouns *cistí*, *ced cíd*, the pers. pronoun *sí* ('she'), the possess. pronouns *mo*, *m-* ; *do*, *t-*, *a* (masc. and neut.) ; the infixed pers. pronouns *-m*, *-t* and 3rd sg. neut. *a*, (i)d.

## B

After verbal forms as follows :

(a) after the absolute forms of the copula in relative sentences.

(b) after all forms of the imperative and the 3rd sg. pret. subj.

(c) after the conjunct forms of the copula which are monosyllabic, with the exception of the 3rd sg. *-did*, *-dib*, *-dip*, and the forms which have become monosyllabic by contraction, e.g., *-bin*, *-btis*, *-btar*, *-psa* in the pret., &c. (There are some exceptions in Wb).

(d) after *masu*, *cesu*, pl. *cetu*, *ceto*.

(e) in later Old Irish after other verbs, whether the following word be object, subject, or adverb.

## C

After uninflected words :

(a) after the preps. *amal*, *ar*, *cen*, *di*, *do*, *fied*, *fo*, *im*, *is*, *ó (úa)*, *ós (uas)*, *tre*, *trí*.

(b) after proclitic prepositions and verbal particles in relative sentences.

(c) After the particle *ro* (*ru*) when enclitic and preceded by a preposition or verbal particle.

(d) after the conjunctions *ocus*, *no* (*nó*), *fa* (*ba*), and usually after *ma*, *cla* (*ce*), *co*, *ó*, and *amal* except where nasalization interferes, the negative *nícon*, *nacon*.

(e) after the particle *a* (*á*) used with the vocative, and the emphatic *su*, *so* used with pers. pronouns.

The second member of a compound has its initial consonant aspirated or lenited :

(a) when the first member is a noun or adjective or a numeral.

(b) after the inseparable prefixes *so-* (*su-*), *do-* (*du-*), *mí-*.

(c) after the prepositions *aith* (*ath*), *air* (*er*, *ir*), *dí* (*de*), *fo*, *imb* (*im(m)*), *ind*, *rem*, *ro*, *tarm*, *to* ; in later glosses

after *com-*, *frith-*, *iarm-*, and sometimes after *for* and *etar* from analogy with *air*. This rule holds good for verbal compounds also except when the preposition is pretonic.

In short aspiration (lenition) occurs wherever a consonant was originally vowel-flanked, thus *don cheneul*, *ben choim*, *ríg-súide* are for older *dondū cenélū*, *benā coimā*, *rígō-sodios*.

#### NASALIZATION.

15. Nasalization is the phonetic change produced in the anlaut of a word by an original final *n* (or *m*) of the preceding word. Before a vowel or *d* the original *n* reappears; *b* and *g* have *m* and *n* (i.e. *n*) prefixed; *c*, *t*, (*p*) are changed to *g*, *d*, (*b*), *f* to *v*; *s r l m n*, when a vowel precedes, are doubled. In writing nasalization is shown clearly only in the case of vowels and mediae, and doubling is frequently neglected. When two words are written apart *n* is sometimes placed separately between them, sometimes transposed to the initial of the second word; in both cases the *n* has usually the *punctum delens* affixed, e.g. *dochum ñ dée* or *dochum ndée*.

Sometimes the *n* is omitted before a word beginning with *h*, e.g. *dochum hirisse*, but *dochum n-irisse* when the *h* is not written.

Sometimes the intervention of an enclitic word between the auslaut and anlaut concerned does not prevent the aspiration or nasalization taking place, e.g. *is sí inso chiall* (where *chiall* is aspirated by *sí*), *déde didiu n-and* (where *déde* causes the nasalization *n-and*)

Nasalization is found in the following cases:—

#### A

(a) after the acc. sg. and gen. plur. of all genders and the nom. sg. of neuters except *alaill*, *na* ('some') *ced* (*cid*) and the infixed pers. pronoun 3rd sg. neuter. Other neuters which did not originally end in *-n* cause nasalization from analogy.



(b) after the numerals *cóic* and *sé* in the gen. plural.

(c) after all the neuter cases of the dual and after the dat. dual of all genders.

(d) after the infixed pers. pronouns of the 3rd sg. masc. *a*, *d*, and sometimes after the 3rd sg. fem. and 3rd plur. s.

(e) after the plural possess. pronouns *ar*, *far*, *a* ('their'), which are really old gens. plur.

## B

After verbal forms: only after the absolute relative forms of the copula in relative sentences and sometimes in interrogative sentences, e.g. *cit n-é* = 'Who are they?'

## C

After uninflected words:

(a) after the numerals *secht*, *ocht*, *noí*, *deich* (not in compounds).

(b) after the relative particle (*s*)*a*, the conjunctions *a* (while), *ara*, *dia*, *co* (*con*), *hua<sup>n</sup>* (*ó-a<sup>n</sup>*).

(c) after the interrogative particle *in* (*im* before *b*).

(d) after the prepositions *co* ('with'), *i*, *iar*, *re* (*ria*); after the compound prepositions *dochum*, *in-degaid*, *tar-ési* (which are in reality prepositions and nouns in the acc. sg.) the anlaut is nasalized only when it bears the principal accent.

## GEMINATION.

16. Gemination is the doubling or lengthening of the initial consonant of a word due to the assimilation of the final consonant of the preceding word (usually an original -s). It is represented in writing only after vowels when the words are written together. In Modern Irish the only trace of gemination left is the *h*-prefixed to vocalic anlaut after vocalic auslaut, e.g. *na h-óige*, *a h-Éirinn*, *le h-éiríge*.

22 4/5  
vowel + 2  
vowel +

Gemination is found :

### A

(a) after the article (*inna*, *na* = original *sindās*) in the gen. sg. fem., nom. pl. fem. and neuter, and acc. pl. of all genders, e.g. *innammaccu* (acc. pl. masc.), *forsnammorchol* (acc. pl. neut.).

(b) after the nom. and acc. sg. neuter *na*, 'some,' e.g. *nanní*, *nalled*.

(c) after the interrogative *cía* (which also aspirates), *a* 'her' (*a* = original *\*esiās*), and after the infixed pers. pronouns *da*, *ta*, *a*, as 3rd sg. fem. and 3rd pl.

### B

After forms of the copula :

(a) after the preterital and modal 3rd sg. *ba* except in relative sentences.

(b) after *ní* = original *\*níst*.

### C

(a) after the prepositions *a* (original *\*eks*), *co*, *fri*, *la*.

(b) all prepositions which end in a vowel, the particles *ro*, *no*, and the negatives *ní* (*mani*, *coní*, &c.), *ná* (*arna*, *conna*), when no infixed pronoun is attached double the anlaut of the following verb or verbal compound, except in relative sentences.

(c) after *assa* between comparatives, e.g. *massa assam-massa*, *na*, 'nor', *sé* 'six' except in gen. pl., the particle *a* used before numerals.

### LOSS OF ASPIRATION (LENITION).

17. When, owing to syncopation, two aspirated consonants of the same class came together they both gave up their aspiration, and when one aspirated consonant united with another unaspirated homorganic consonant the same result ensued ; thus *ch + ch*, or *ch + c*, or *c + ch*, > *c* ; *th + th*, or *th + t*, or *t + th* = *t* ; e.g. *tecnate* = *teg-gnāth-de* (*teγ-nāþ-ðe*), *mitter* = *midther* (*mið-þer*), *marcír* = *marc-chír*.

Aspirated *t* and *d* lost their aspiration after *l*, *n*, *s*, and before *s*. After *s* aspirated *d* not only gave up its aspiration but became unvoiced, e.g. *béste*, *báste*, < *bés-ðe*, *bás-ðe*. Lenited *l* and *n* lost their lenition before *d*, *t*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and after *l*, *r*. The above phonetic changes do not invariably appear in writing owing to the etymological spellings, just as in Modern Irish we write *toḡta*, *lobta*, but pronounce *tofa*, *lofa*.

#### DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

18. Double consonants frequently arise through composition or syncopation, e.g. *freccor* < \**fret-cor*, *bronn* < \**brunos*, *ammus* < \**ad-mess*; or in later Old Irish by assimilation of *nd*, *ld*, e.g. *inna* < *inda*, *mallacht* < *maldacht*.

#### QUALITY OF THE CONSONANTS.

19. In Old Irish every consonant except the labials had three distinct pronunciations, viz., *palatal*, *neutral*, and *velar*; or as it is sometimes expressed an *i*-quality, an *a*-quality, and an *u*-quality. A consonant has the *i*-quality before or after *e* or *i*, e.g. *cé*, *cía*, *íce*; the *a*-quality before or after *a* or *o*, e.g. *cara*, *cos*, *accat*; the *u*-quality before or after *u*, e.g. *cú*, *ruccu*. In the first case the middle of the tongue is raised to the hard palate, in the second the back of the tongue is raised to the soft palate just behind the hard palate, in the third the back of the tongue touches the back portion of the soft palate while the lips are protruded and rounded. In Modern Irish the *a*- and *u*-qualities are classed together as non-palatal (*leatán*) in contradistinction to the palatal or *i*-quality (*caol*), but the distinction in pronunciation between the *a*- and *u*-qualities is still marked in many cases. In the case of the labials palatalization is impossible, but as the lips are protruded when the labial is preceded or followed by *a*, *o*, or *u*, and retracted when it is preceded or followed by *e* or *i* this protrusion or retraction of the lips forms for the labials a distinction corresponding to the palatal and non-palatal pronunciations of the other consonants.

## CHANGE OF QUALITY.

20. When two consonants of different quality come together owing to syncopation the second consonant (except in the case of *u*-quality + *i*-quality) takes as a rule the quality of the first: thus non-p. + pal. > non-p. e.g. *fodlat* ( $\delta^a \lambda^a$ ) from *fo-dalet* ( $\delta^a - \lambda^i$ ); pal. + non-p. > pal. e.g. *aithrea* ( $\beta^i \rho^i$ ) from *\*athera* ( $\beta^i - \rho^a$ ); pal. + *u*-quality > pal. e.g. *aingliu* ( $g^i \lambda^i$ ) from *\*angilu* ( $g^i - \lambda^u$ ); but *u*-quality + pal. > pal. e.g. *foigde* ( $\gamma^i \delta^i$ ) from *\*fo-gude* ( $g^u - \delta^i$ ). Compounds are an exception to the above rules.

CONSONANTAL GROUPS BEFORE *e*, *i*.

21. Before syncopation had taken place, and before the loss of the vowel of the final syllable, if a group of two or more different consonants stood before *e* or *i* only the last consonant of the group was palatal. When the group, through the loss of the following vowel, came to stand at the end of the syllable the whole group became palatal; if, however, the vowel was retained, the whole group afterwards became non-palatal in accordance with the rule given in § 20, e.g., *serc* made its dat. sg. *seirc* ( $r^i k^i$ ) from *\*serki*, but its gen. sg. *sercae* ( $r^a k^a$ ).

The consonantal groups  $\mu\lambda$ ,  $\mu\rho$  *mr*, *nd*, *dc* (=  $\delta g$ ) had become palatal at an early time, and accordingly remained palatal even before a retained vowel, e.g., *immbi*, *clainde*, *cwimrech*. Single *l*, *r*, *n*, if they had been originally preceded by a consonant (the loss of which was represented by compensatory lengthening of the vowel), acted like consonantal groups, e.g., *gabálae*, gen. sg. of *gabál* from *\*gabaglā*, *so-scélae* for *\*so-scetle*; *céle* (from *\*kegljos*) is an exception, but it has followed the analogy of *aile*, *alaile*. The group *cht* is always non-palatal.

## DEPALATALIZATION.

22. At the beginning of a syllable when preceded by *á*, *u*, *o* or *úa*, the labials *b*, *p*, *f*, *m*, and the gutturals *g*, *c*, *ch*, *ng* become non-palatal, e.g., *opair* (dat. sg.) from Lat.

*opera* ; *cnámai* nom. pl. of *cnáim* ; *ungae* = *uncia*. In the second stage of Old Irish the palatal quality was still retained in unaccented syllables, e.g. *ached*, *uaithe*d, *fugell*, *toceth* ; later, *achad*, *uathad*, *fugall*, *tocad*. (see further Bergin, Ériu III.)

#### CONFUSION OF *u*- AND *a*-QUALITIES.

23. The consonants *ch*, *cc*, *th* (and the *d*=*ð* which develops from it), ss in auslaut after original *a* have the *a*-quality instead of *u*-quality, e.g. *cath* (stem *catu*), compound *cocad* < \**com-cath* ; *mac* dat. sg. from \**maccū*, &c : labials and gutturals which in the earlier glosses usually have the *u*-quality, gradually assume the *a*-quality in the later glosses, e.g. *cosmuil*, *menmuin*, *·cechuin*, later *cosmail*, *menmain*, *·cechain*.

#### ORIGINAL INITIAL CONSONANTS.

24. Original *s* in the anlaut of proclitic words is lost, e.g. *it* from \**senti*, Lat. *sunt* ; *amail* from *samail*, Lat. *similis* ; the article *ind*, *a* for \**sind*, \**sen* ; *t* in the same position changes to *d*, e.g. *do*, *dar*, for older *to*, *tar*.

#### ORIGINAL FINAL CONSONANTS.

Original final *r*, *rt*, *lt*, *cht*, *t* (i.e. *d* or *dd*) from *-nt* (*-mt*), are retained, e.g. *siur*, Lat. *soror*, *·berat* (for *beront*) ; *dét* (for \**dent*), W. *dant*.

Final *m* was changed to *n* before it was lost ; it reappears before vowels and *d*, e.g. *deich n-uair* (for \**dekn*) ; *fer n-Érend* for \**uiran*. Single *d*, *t*, *k*, *n*, (from *-n* or *-m*), *s* disappeared in absolute auslaut ; also the groups *-ks*, *-ts*, *-ns*, *-st*, probably after first being reduced to single *-s*, e.g. \**tod* > *tō*, \**karāt* > *·cara*, \**rēks* > *rí*, \**mēns* > *mí*, \**karants* > *car(a)e*, \**steighst* > *·té*.

#### LOSS OF CONSONANTS.

25. By dissimilation, e.g. *for·rotchan* < *for·ro-echan* <

*for-ro-chechan*, *in-roigrainn* < *in-ro-egrainn* < *in-ro-ge-grainn*. By reduction of consonantal groups, e.g. *áildiu* < \**áilndiu*, *cungat* < \**cunningat*, *ort* < \**orcht*.

#### COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.

In original groups of consonants the spirants *ch*, *γ*, *ð* between a vowel and *r*, *l*, *n*, and *th* before *l* and *n*, disappeared; the lost consonant was compensated by lengthening a preceding short vowel. A similar compensation sometimes follows the loss of *n* and *ng(v)*. Examples: *dér* < \**dachr*, *ár* < \**agr*, *áram* < \**adram*, *cénel* < \**cenethl*, *én* < \**ethn*, *cét* < \**cent*, *céimm* < \**cingsmen*, v. §§ 26. *d*, 28. *b*, 30. *b*.

#### METATHESIS.

26. Metathesis is frequent in Modern Irish, but seldom occurs in Old Irish; examples from Old Irish are *ascnam* for \**acsnam* from \**adcosnam*, *ad-cosnai*; *lughurt* for \**hubgurt*, *bérle* (once) for *bélre*.

#### THE VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

27. *á* represents—

(a) Id.G. *ā*, e.g. *máthir*, Lat. *māter*, Dor. Gk. *μάτηρ*.

(b) Id.G. *ō*, e.g. *dán*, Lat. *dōnum*, Gk. *δίδωμι*; *gnáth*, Lat. *nōtus*, Gk. *γνωτός*.

(c) *á* arises from Id.G. long sonant *ɣ*, e.g. *grán* < \**gɣno*.

(d) *á* also arises by compensatory lengthening, e.g. *ár* < \**agr*, *mál* < \**magl*, *áram* < \**adram*.

*ǎ* represents—

(a) Id.G. *ǣ*, e.g. *anál*, Goth. *us-anan*, Skr. *ániti*; *arathar*, Lat. *aratrum*, Gk. *ἄροτρον*.

(b) Id.G. *Sh'va* (ə), e.g. *athir*, Lat. *pater*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Skr. *pitā*, Id.G. \**pētēr*.

(c) *ǎ* also arises from Id.G. sonant *ɣ*, *l* before vowels and



spirants, e.g. *barr* < \**bhrs-*, \**marb* < \**m̥r̥uos*, *all* < \**pls-*, *tart* < \**t̥rst-*; from Id.G. *n̥*, *n̥* before vowels, spirants and *m*, e.g. *tane* < \**tn̥-*, Gk. *ταναός*; *samail* < \**sm̥-*, Gk. *ἄμα*.

## 28. *é* represents—

(a) Id.G. *ei*. e.g. *·tégot* < \**steighont*, Gk. *στείχειν*, Goth. *steigan*. In later Old Irish this *é* was diphthongized passing through *éa* into *ía*, e.g. *·tiagat*, *sians* (*sēnsus*), *riagol* (*rēgula*).

(b) *é* arises by compensatory lengthening from *ě* and *ǣ* e.g. *cenél* < \**cenethl-*, *dér* < \**dakr-*, *fén* < \**uegn-*.

*ě* represents—

(a) Id.G. *ě*, e.g. *ech* < \**ek'ŭ-*, Lat. *equus*; *berid* < \**bhereti*, Lat. *fert*, Gk. *φέρει*.

(b) Id.G. *ǣ* when the following syllable contained originally *ǣ*, or *ō*, or *ō* which had not become *ū*, e.g. *fer* < \**uiros*, *fedb* < \**uidyā*; (*i* before *nd* remained, e.g. *finn* < \**uindos*).

## 29. *í* represents—

(a) Id.G. *ī*, e.g. *rím*, O.H.G. *rīm*; *lí*, Lat. *līvor*.

(b) Id.G. *ē*. e.g. *fír*, Lat. *vērus*: *rí* < \**rēks*, Lat. *rex*; *lín*, Lat. *plēnus*.

*ī* represents—

(a) Id.G. *ī*, e.g. *ibid*, Skr. *pibati*, Lat. *bibit*.

(b) Id.G. *ē* when the following syllable contained *i* or *u*, e.g. *·biur* < *birū* < \**bherō*, *míl* < \**melī*, *cinn* < \**k<sup>u</sup>enni*, *fuir* < \**uiru*.

(c) sometimes arises from Id.G. *ŋ* and *n̥*, e.g. *imb* < \**mbhi*, *ingnad* < \**n̥-gnāt*.

## 30. *ó* represents—

(a) Id.G. *au*, *ou*, *eu*: e.g. *tuath* < \**teut-*; *hiad*, Lat. *laus laudis*; *riad* (older \**ród*) Goth. *rauþs*, Lith. *raudà*; *lóche*, Gk. *λευκός*, Lat. *lux*, Id.G. *√ leuk-*.

(b) *ó* arises by compensatory lengthening, e.g. *uar* (older \**ór*) < \**ogr-*; *srón* < \**srokn-*; *suan* (\**sōn*) < \**sopn-*, Lat. *somnus*, Arm. *k'un*; by contraction *tó* < *to-ŋo* < *to-fō*.



ǫ represents—

(a) Id.G. ǫ, e.g. *ocht*, Lat. *octo*, Gk. ὀκτώ; *orbe*, Lat. *orbis*, Gk. ὀρβανός.

(b) Id.G. ǫ when the following syllable contained *a* or *ǫ*, e.g. *cloth* < \**kluton*, Lat. *in-clutus*, Gk. κλυτός.

(c) sometimes *ǣ* before a palatal or *u*-quality consonant, e.g. *boill* (or *baill*) < \**balli*; *brot* < \**brattū*.

í represents—

(a) Id.G. ī, e.g. *cúl*, Lat. *cūlus*; *rín*, Goth. *rīna*.

(b) arises from *ui* before a syncopated vowel, e.g. *dú-thracht* < \**duia* = \**de-uo*.

ǽ represents—

(a) Id.g. ǽ, e.g. *sruth*, Skr. *srutáh*, Gk. ῥυτός: *dub*, Gk. τυφλός, Goth. *dumbs*.

(b) Id.G. ǫ when the following syllable contained *i* (*ǝ*) or *u*, e.g. *nruig* < \**mrogī*, *sude* < \**sodijō*, *mug* < \**mogu*.

(c) Sometimes *ǣ* before a consonant or consonants with *i*- or *u*-quality, e.g. *for-cun* (√*can*), *bullu* < \**baullu* < \**ballu*.

(d) in *rǽ* and *lǽ* from Id.G. *r*, *l*, e.g. *cruim* < \**kṛmi*, Skr. *kṛmih*, Lith. *kirmis*; *dluig* < \**dlgi*.

## GLIDES.

**32.** When an accented syllable containing a non-palatal vowel or diphthong ends in a palatal consonant or consonantal group, a palatal glide represented by *i* is usually inserted before the consonant or group, e.g. *lám* for *lám'*; *teist* for *tes't'*; *clainde* for *clan'd'e*. Before an *a*-quality consonant or group no glide was represented in writing, but that a glide was pronounced is shown by Modern Irish *peap*, *ceangsa*. Before *u*-quality consonants a glide *u* was inserted after *ǣ*, *ǝ*, *ǝ* (sometimes an *ǫ*-glide after *ǝ* before *ch*), e.g. *baull* < \**ballu*; *neuch* or *neoch* < \**nechu*; *biur* < \**biru*.

## GLIDES BEFORE VOWELS IN AUSLAUT.

**33.** A palatal glide is usually inserted between a palatal consonant or consonants and a final *a*, *o*, or *u*, e.g. *toimseo*

(i.e. *s<sup>i</sup>o*) *esseirgiu* (*γ<sup>i</sup>u*). In older MSS. as a rule no glide is written between a non-palatal consonant and final *e* or *i* although the word must have been pronounced with a non-palatal glide, e.g. *cnámi dígle*, later *cnámai, díglae*. In still later MSS. final *-ae* becomes *-a*, and *-eo*, *-ea* become *e*.

### THE TRUE DIPHTHONGS.

**34.** The true Diphthongs are *aí* (*ae*), *oí* (*oe*), *uí*, *áu*, *áo*, *éu*, *éo*, *íu*. In later MSS. *aí* and *oí* appears as *ae*, *oe*, and *ae* and *oe* are frequently confused, e.g. *aís* is also written *des*, *ois*, or *óes*.

*aí* represents Id.G. *ai*, e.g. *cáech* (*caich*), Lat. *caecus*, Goth. *haihs*.

*oí* represents (a) Id.G. *oi*, e.g. *oín*, O.Lat. *oino*, Gk. *οἶν*; *moín*, Lat. *moenia*, *munus*.

(b) arises by contraction of *o* + *e* and reduction of *oue*, e.g. *foímat* < *fo-emat*; *toísech* < *\*to-uessach*, W. *tywysog*.

(c) by contraction from *auí*, eg. *goí* < *\*gāuín*, *con-oí* < *con-auí*.

*uí* arises from *uui*, e.g. *druí*, < *\*druui(d)s*; *uí* < *\*uuis*, Lat. *ouis*.

*áu* (later *ó*) represents—

(a) Id.G. *au*, e.g. *áu* (*ó*), Lat. *auris*, Gk. *οὔρα*, Goth. *ausō*, Lith. *ausis*.

(b) Id.G. *ou*, e.g. *dáu* (later *dó*), Skr. *dvau*, Lat. *duo*, Gk. *δίω*, Id.G. *\*duōu*.

(c) arises by contraction, e.g. *táu* < *\*tā-u* < *\*stāiō*; *láu* < *\*lā-u* < *lāthu*; also from *āu* before a lost vowel, e.g. *gáu*, (*gó*) < *\*gāua*.

*éu* (*éo*) arises

(a) by contraction from *e* + *u*, e.g. *béu*, *béo*, 1st sg. subj. from *\*be(s)u*.

(b) from *eu* (older *iū*), e.g. *béu*, *béo* (adj.) from *\*beyas* < *\*biuos*.

(c) in syllables containing *é* long by compensation, e.g.

*éun* < \**etnū*. It is also used to represent the Latin *Io-* in *Euseph* = *Josephus*.

*iu* arises by contraction from *i + u*, e.g. *·biu* < \**bi(i)u* < *biō*; *·biu* (dat. sg. of adj. *béu*) < \**biuu*.

#### VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

35. In original final syllables :

*ō* became *u*, e.g. *·btu firu, siur*, from \**biō*, \**uirōns*, or \**uirōs*, \**suesōr*.

*ē* became *i*, e.g. *athir, máthir*, from \**pētēr*, \**mātēr*; but *-the*, termination of 2nd sg. imper. dep. from \**-thēs*.

*ǫ*, before it dropped, became *ǻ*, e.g. in an Ogham inscription; *magua(n)* for \**maquon*.

Final vowels disappeared, e.g. *fir*, *·bered*, *car*, for \**uire* or \**uirī*, \**bhereto*, \**karā*. Short vowels before consonants were also lost, e.g. *fer*, *con*, *sail* for \**uiros* or \**uirom*, \**kunos*, \**saliks*. Long vowels before original final consonants are retained as short vowels, e.g. *firu*, *·bera*, *tuatha*, for \**uirūs*, \**bherāt*, \**teutās*. That *fer* (gen. plur.) remains instead of \**firu* is to be explained by the hypothesis that *uirōm* was shortened to *uirōn* before the case-ending was lost.

After *i*, *ī*, or *ii* the vowels of the final syllable are retained in a shortened form, e.g. *aile*, *aili*, *do·gnū*, for \**alios* or \**aliā*, \**do·gnūu* < \**gneiō*.

#### UNACCENTED VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES.

36. When an unaccented vowel, no matter what its origin, stood between two consonants belonging to the same syllable it appeared in writing :

(a) between two palatal consonants as *i*, e.g. *berid* (\**bhereti*), exceptionally as *e*, e.g. *sotrfed*.

(b) between two non-palatal consonants as *a*, e.g. *teglach* from \**teg-slóg*; *as·rubart* from \**as·ru·bert*.

(c) between two *u*-quality consonants as *u*, e.g. *cumung* (dat. of *cumang*) from *cumu<sup>u</sup>an<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup>*.

(d) between a palatal and non-palatal consonant as *e*, e.g. *tuirem* from *\*to-rím*.

(e) between a non-palatal and palatal consonant as *i* (later *ai*), e.g. *fodil* from *\*fo-dáil*, *rethit* (= *reth<sup>a</sup>it<sup>i</sup>*) from *< \*retonti*.

(f) between an *u*-quality and a palatal consonant as *i* or *ui*, e.g. *cosmil* or *cosmuil* (*μ<sup>u</sup>—l<sup>i</sup>*).

(g) between a palatal and an *u*-quality consonant as *iu*, e.g. *inniud* dat. sg. of *inned*.

(h) between an *u*-quality and a non-palatal consonant or vice versa, as *o* or *u*, e.g. *figor* ('figura'), *flechod* or *fleuchud*; *dénom* or *dénun*; *ágor* or *águr*.

In open syllables unaccented vowels were treated similarly, but the writing varies considerably.

#### SYNCOPATION.

37. After the vowel of the final syllable had disappeared, if a word contained more than two syllables, the vowel of the second syllable was lost. If the word contained five or more syllables, the vowel of the fourth syllable was also lost. This change takes place in fixed compounds as well as in simple words and resulted from the position of the accent which fell primarily on the first syllable and secondarily on the third and fifth, e.g. *dligthech*, *toimseo*, *·tomnibther*, for *\*dligethech*, *\*tomesso*, *\*to-monibither*; similarly in loan-words, e.g. *apstal*, *epscop*, for *apostolus*, *episcopus*. The vowel was retained before *cht*, e.g. *cumachtach*. Disyllabic *ia* became *e*, e.g. *no·betis* for *\*no·biatis*. When a deuterotonic verbal form becomes prototonic, as in the conjoint flexion and imperative, the resultant is sometimes difficult to recognize owing to the fact that not only does syncope take place but the proclitic preposition returns to its accented form, e.g. deuteroton. *as·berat* becomes prototon. *·epret* = *\*ekbret* < *\*eks-bheront*, cf. Lat. *efferunt* < *ec-ferunt*; deuteroton. *do·rochair* > prototon. *·torchair* < *\*to-ro-cer*. The absence of syncope is due to the influence of another form, e.g. *sochumacht* as well as *sochmacht* owing to the form *cumachte*. When for some reason the second

syllable remained unsyncopeated the vowel of the third syllable fell out in a word of four or more syllables, e.g. *cumachtchu* for *\*cumachtachu*.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF NEW VOWELS.

38. When through loss of vowels in middle or final syllables a nasal or a liquid came to stand between consonants, or in auslaut after a consonant, it retained its consonantal character only (a) when preceded by a similar consonant or *n*, *m* after a vowel + *r*, *l*, *ð*, e.g. *do·ar-r-chét* < *\*do·are-ro-chet*, *iarn* < *\*isarnon*, *form* < *\*uper-me*, *salm* < *psalmus*, *naidm* < *\*naðmn-*; (b) when the preceding consonant has disappeared e.g. *áirme* < *\*ad-ríme* (v. § 25;); (c) when the nasals stand before homorganic mediae, e.g. *frecndirc* < *\*frith-comderc-*, *fulngid* < *deuteroton*, *fo-longid*. In all other cases the nasals and liquids became sonant, and from these sonants arose new vowels, e.g., *domun* from *\*domŋ* < *\*domnos*; *ecilse*, *ecolso*, from *ecłse*, *ecłso*; *arathar* from *arathŋ* < *\*aratron* (W. *aradr*).

#### VOWEL-CONTRACTION.

39. If two vowels came together in a word which after syncopation had still more than two syllables, they frequently coalesced, e.g. *lóthor* as well as *loathar* < *\*loquatron*; *impúd*, and *impuid* < *\*imb-soud*. Also in weakly accented disyllabic words contraction may take place, e.g. *dóib* and *doaiḃ*, *díḃ* and *diib*, monosyllabic *léu* as well as *lēu*; so also *ós* for *ó as*, *hólailiu* for *ó alailiu*.

#### VOCALISM OF PROCLITIC WORDS.

40. *e* in anlaut of proclitic words becomes *a*, e.g. *as-*, *a* for accented form *es(s)* < *\*eks*; *acht* < *\*ektos*; *am* for *emm* < *\*esmi*; *a* neut. article for *\*sen*. If the word has *a* in the first syllable the vowel of the second syllable changes to *a*, e.g. *ala* from *aile*, *ata* for *\*ate*, *la* for *le*. In *ocus* for *acus* initial *a* is changed to *o* through the influence of the *u*-quality *c*. Before *a*, *o*, *e* is often changed to *i*; e.g. *ci*



*as·bera* for *ce* ; *lia* = *le* + *a* ; *o* before *a* frequently becomes *u*, e.g. *fu-a* for *fo-a*.

## THE CONSONANTS.

**41. k (c) and ch** represent—

(a) Id.G. *k'*, *q* and *q''*, e.g. *cét*, W. *cant*, Lat. *centum* ; *deich*, Lat. *decem*, Goth. *taihun*, Arm. *tasn* ; *sechithir*, Lat. *sequi*, Gk. *ἐπεσθαι*, Lith. *seku*.

(b) Id.G. *kh*, e.g. *cingid*, Skr. *khañjati*, O.H.G. *hinkan* ; *scian*, Skr. *chyāti*, Lat. *sciscere*.

(c) *cht* also arises from *γ* + *t*, e.g. *·acht*, *t*-preterite of *agid* (*√ag*), Lat. *agere* ; from *p* + *t*, e.g. *secht* Lat. *septem*, Gk. *ἐπτά*.

**g (g, c) and Γ (g)** represent—

(a) Id.G. *g'* and *g*, e.g. *gnáth*, Gk. *γνώτός*, Skr. *jānāti* ; *teg*, Lat. *tegere*, Gk. *τέγος*.

(b) Id.G. *g'h*, *gh*, and *g''h*, e.g. *gaimred*, Lat. *hiems*, Gk. *χειμών*, Skr. *himā* : *cum-ung*, Lat. *angere*, Gk. *ἄγγχειν*, Goth. *aggnus*, (*√ang'h*) ; *guirid*, Lat. *formus*, Gk. *θερμός*,

**t and th** represent—

(a) Id.G. *t* (and Europ. *t* = Skr. *th*), e.g. *trí*, Lat. *tres*, Gk. *τρῆς*, Skr. *trayah* ; *roth*, Lat. *rota*, Lith. *rātas*, Skr. *rathah*.

(b) Id.G. *th*, e.g. *-the* (termination of 2nd sg. imper. Dep.), Skr. *-thāh*, Gk. *-της* (?).

(c) Id.G. *p*, e.g. *art*, Lat. *ursus*, Gk. *ἄρκτος*, Skr. *ṛkshah*.

(d) *t* also arises from *d* + *h*, e.g. *intamil* < \**ind-samīl*, *int athir* < \**ind.s athir* < \**sindos attr*.

**d (d, t) and Ð (d)** represent—

(a) Id.G. *d*, e.g. *daur*, Gk. *δρῦς*, Skr. *dāru* ; *saidid*, *suide*, Lat. *sedere*, Gk. *ἔδος*, Skr. *sádah*.

(b) Id.G. *dh*, e.g. *denait*, *del*, Gk. *θηλή*, Lat. *filius* < \**fēlius*, O.H.G. *tila* : *mid*, Skr. *mádhu*, Gk. *μέθυ*.

(c) *d* (written *t*) also arises from *-nt*, e.g. *dét*, *cét*, and from *t* in proclitic words v. §. 25.

(d)  $\delta$  (written *d*) represents Id.G. *z* before *g* and *b*: with a following *d* it combines to form *dd* (written *t*), e.g. *Tadc* (i.e. *Tađg*), *medg*, Med. Lat. *mesga*; *odb*, Gk. *ὄφ'ς*; *net*, O.H.G. *nest*, Arm. *nist*.

**p** arises from an older *b* which through syncopation comes to stand before lenited *s* (= *h*), e.g. *impude* for *\*imb-šude*; *impu* for *\*imb šu*. Id.G. *p* in anlaut and between vowels has disappeared, e.g. *athir*, Lat. *pater*, Gk. *πατήρ*; *lethan*, Gk. *πλατύς*, Lith. *platūs*; *tee*, Skr. *tápant-*, Lat. *tepere*; *fo < uo < uro*, Gk. *ὑπό*. *sp* and *sph* in anlaut are treated like *su*; they appear as *s*, lenited to *f* (*ph*), e.g. *sine*, *bó tri-phne*, Lith. *spenys*, O.H.G. *spunni*; *seir*, *dí pherid*, (*\*spher-*), Skr. *sphurāmi*, Gk. *σφυρόν*; *selg* (*spleen*) < *\*spelg'hā*, Gk. *σπλήν*, *σπλάγχνα*; Id.G. *rp*, *lp*, *mp*, became *rr*, *ll*, *mm*, e.g. *serr*, Lat. *sarpo*, Gk. *ἄρπη*, Lett. *sirpe*; *tella*, *talla*, Lith. *telpi*; *camm*, Gk. *καμπή*, Goth. *hamfs*. Initial *p* in Irish only occurs in loan-words. The stages of the reduction of Id.G. *p* are *p > ph* (i.e. *p + h*) > *pf* > *f* > *h* > *null*. In the Germanic languages it reached the fourth stage, in anlaut, cf. English *father*.

**b** (written **b**, **p**) and **β** (written **b**) represent—

(a) Id.G. *b*, e.g. *ibid*, Skr. *píbatī*; *shiab*, Eng. *slip*.

(b) Id.G. *bh*, e.g. *biru*, Gk. *φέρω*, Lat. *fero*, Skr. *bharāmi*, O.H.G. *biru*; *imbliu*, Gk. *ὀμφαλός* Skr. *nābhīh*.

(c) Id.G. *g<sup>u</sup>*, e.g. *béu*, *béo*, Lat. *vivus*, Lith. *gyvas*, Goth. *gius*, Arm. *keā-*; *imb* (butter), Lat. *unguen*, Skr. *añj*. O.H.G. *ancho*, Pruss. *unktan*, Arm. *auc-* from  $\sqrt{\text{aog}^u}$ .

(d) **β** arises from *u* after *r*, *l*, *n*,  $\delta$ , e.g. *tarb* < *\*tariuos*; *selb*, W. *helw*; *banb*, W. *banw*; *fedb* (i.e. *feðv*) from *\*uidiuā*: from *m + u*, e.g. *cubus* from *\*com-uissus*; *cobodlus* from *\*com-fo-dālus*.

(e) **β** (*b*) sometimes represents *-šu-* of the *suo*-future in inlaut after *s*, always as final, e.g. *do·nesbe*, *·léiciub*; cf. also *tinib* 3rd sg. subj. of *do·in-fet* (i.e. *do·in-šyet*).

**f** represents—

(a) in absolute anlaut Id.G. *u*, e.g. *fer*, Lat. *uir*; *fír*, Lat. *uērus*.



(b) arises from lenited *sy*, e.g. *mo fiur* (absolute *siur*) *tinfed* (✓ *syēd*).

(c) sometimes is written for *b* (i.e. *β*) in inlaut and auslaut, e.g. *Belzefuth*, *graif* (from Lat. *gravis*).

**n** and **v** represent—

(a) Id.G. *n*, e.g. *nute*, *nuae*, Skr. *nāvyaḥ*, Lith. *naujas*, Arm. *nor* < \**nouros*; *sen*, W. *hen*, Lat. *senis*, Gk. *ἐν* (in *ἐν* καὶ νέα), Lith. *sėnas*, Skr. *sánaḥ*.

(b) Id.G. final *-m*, e.g. *scél<sup>n</sup>* < \**sketlon*.

(c) original *m* in compounds before *d*, e.g. *condelc* < \**comdelc*.

**m** and **μ** (i.e. nasal *u* or *v*), both written **m**, represent—

(a) Id.G. *m*, e.g. *máthir*, Lat. *mater*, Gk. *μήτηρ*; *dam*, Skr. *dāmyati*, Gk. *δαμάζω*, Lat. *domare*.

(b) *m* arises out of another nasal before *b* (without syncopation), e.g. *imb* (butter), from \**inb*, *imbiuth* for \**in biuth*.

(c) *m* arises from Keltic *b* before *n*, e.g. *slemon* from \**slibno-*, *domun* from *dubno-*, cf. Gaulish *Dubnorex*; *mná* (gen. sg. and nom. pl. of *ben*) for \**bnās*.

*n* (written **n**) arises—

(a) from Id.G. *n* only before Keltic *g*, e.g. *ingen*, Lat. *unguis*.

(b) from another nasal before *g*, e.g. *congnam* for \**com-gnám*.

**r** and **ρ** (both written **r**) represent—

(a) Id.G. *r*, e.g. *rogid*, Lat. *regere*, Gk. *ῥέγειν*; *carid*, Lat. *cārus*, Lett. *kārs*.

(b) arises out of *l* by dissimilation, e.g. *araile* as well as *alaile*.

(c) sometimes in unaccented syllables from Id.G. *z* before *g*, e.g. *dibirciud* from *do·bidci* (i.e. *do·biðgi*).

**l** and **λ** (both written **l**) represent Id.G. *l*, e.g. *ligid*, Lat. *lingere*, Gk. *λείχειν*, Goth. *bi-laigōn*; *melid* Gk. *μύλη*, Lat. *molere*, Goth. *malan*.

**s** represents Id.G. *s*, e.g. *sruth*, Skr. *srávati*; *snechte*, Lat. *nix*, Goth. *snaiws*, O. Sl. *snegŭ*; *is* Lat. *est*, Gk. *ἐστί*, &c.

## II.—THE ARTICLE.

42. The article has for its foundation a demonstrative \**sen* to which, except in the nom. and acc. sg. neuter and originally probably in the nom. and acc. plural, is added the Id.G. pronominal stem *to-*, *tā-*, found in Gk. *τό*, *οὗτος*, Lat. *is-ta*, Eng. *that*. The following is a hypothetical paradigm of the Proto-Keltic forms :—

Singular.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>sen-tos</i>	<i>sen-tā</i>	<i>sen</i>
G.	<i>sen-tī</i>	<i>sen-tās</i>	<i>sen-tī</i>
D.	<i>sen-tō</i>	<i>sen-tā</i>	<i>sen-tō</i>
A.	<i>sen-ton</i>	<i>sen-tān</i>	<i>sen</i>
Plural.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>sen-ti</i>	<i>sen-tās</i>	( <i>sena</i> )
G.	<i>sen-tōn</i>	<i>sen-tōn</i>	<i>sen-tōn</i>
D.	<i>sen-tobis</i>	<i>sen-tābis</i>	<i>sen-tobis</i>
A.	<i>sen-tōs</i>	<i>sen-tūs</i>	( <i>sena</i> )

In accordance with the laws of phonetic change in proclitic words (v. §§ 24, 40.) the above forms would give rise in prehistoric Old Irish to the following :—

Singular.			
	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>sindas</i>	<i>sinda</i>	<i>san</i>
G.	<i>sindi</i>	<i>sindās</i>	<i>sindi</i>
D.	<i>sindu</i>	<i>sinda</i>	<i>sindu</i>
A.	<i>sindan</i>	<i>sindān</i>	<i>san</i>

In the plural the fem. forms ousted the neut. as they eventually did the masc. also except the nom. so that the paradigm is reduced to—

	masc.	fem. and neut.
N.	<i>sindi</i>	<i>sindās</i>
G.	<i>sindan</i>	
D.	<i>sindaib</i>	
A.	<i>sindās.</i>	

With the loss of initial *s* (v. § 24) and the case-endings, and the assimilation *nn* < *nd* this gives in the Old Irish period—

## Singular.

	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>in, int</i> (bef. vowels)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ind^c, in^c, int \\ \text{(bef. } s) \end{array} \right\}$	$a^n$
G.	$ind^c, in^c, int$ (bef. $s$ )	$inna^g, na^g$	as in masc.
D.	$-(s)ind^c, -(s)in^c, -(s)-int$ (bef. $s$ )	as in masc.	as in masc.
A.	$in^n, -sin^n$	$in^n, -sin^n$	$-a^n, -sa^n$

## Plural.

	masc.	fem and neut.
N.	$ind^c, in^c, int$ (bef. $s$ )	$inna^g, na^g$
	all genders.	
G.	$inna^n, na^n$	
D.	$-snaib, naib$	
A.	$inna^g, na^g, -sna^g$	

43. In the dual the article has always the form *in*.

In the above paradigm  $-^c, -^g, -^n$ , indicate respectively aspiration (lenition), gemination, or nasalization of the initial consonant of the following word. The *t* of *int* represents the unvoicing of the *d* of *ind* produced by a following *h*-sound, i.e. *s* either of the original ending *-os* or in the lenited anlaut of the succeeding word, thus: nom. masc.  $*sindas\ atir > *ind(a)s\ athir > *indh\ athir > int\ athir$ ; gen. masc.  $*sindi\ soni > *ind\ suin > int\ suin$  (i.e. *suin*); nom. fem.  $*sinda\ soilse > *ind\ soilse > int\ soilse$  (i.e. *soilse*). For aspiration (lenition), nasalization and gemination after the article v. §§ 14A, 15A, 16A. The initial *s* of the article is retained in the dat. and acc. sg. and plur. after prepositions which originally ended in a consonant, viz. *a, co* (with), *fri, i, iar, la, re, tar, tri*; also after *co* (to) and sometimes after *for*: e.g. *asin, asnaib*  $< *ess\ sentu, *ess\ sentobis$ ; *isin, isa*  $< *in\ sentu$  or *sentan, \*in\ sen*.  $*Sindaib, *sindas$  (dat. and acc. pl.) are syncopated to *snaib, sna*, and after prepositions ending in a vowel the initial *si-* are lost, e.g. *don, din, onnaib*, for *do, di + \*sindu, o \*sindaib*. In Old Irish of the 2nd stage (v. Introduction) *-nd-* is sometimes retained, e.g. *inda, dundaib*. The *d* of the article is retained before lenited *l, r, n*, a vowel or lenited *f*, e.g. *ind libuir* (gen. masc.), *ind ingen, ind flaith* (noms. fem.)

44. The neuter form of the article *an*,  $a^n$  is used as a relative e.g. *an asbiur* = 'what I say,' *arrupredchad* < \**an ru-predchad* = 'what has been preached.' It is also used with *ar*, *co*, *di*, *ó* (*hua*) to form conjunctions, viz. *ara<sup>n</sup>*, *co<sup>n</sup>* (= *co* +  $a^n$ ), *dia<sup>n</sup>*, *ho<sup>n</sup>*, *hua<sup>n</sup>*, e.g. *arambiat* < \**ar-an-biat*, *combin* < *con-bin*, *diambad*; used alone before a nasalizing relative sentence it means 'when,' e.g. *an no-n-derbid* 'when you prove.'

#### THE ARTICLE WITH DEMONSTRATIVES.

45. The deictic particle *-i*, found in Gk. οὗτος-ί, Lat. *quī* = \**quo* + *i*, is compounded with various forms of the article to form demonstrative pronouns; thus masc. nom. *intí*, gen. *indí* or *indhí*, fem. nom. *indí* or *indhí*, gen. *innahí*, neut. nom. *aní*, com. gen. pl. *innaní*, &c. Before a relative verb the forms mean 'he, she who, that which,' &c.; before a proper name *intí* = 'the aforementioned,' e.g. *intí Moysi, forsinní David*: note especially the use of the neuter, e.g. *aní as mane* = 'that which is *mane*,' i.e. *the word 'mane.'*

46. The article is used demonstratively in conjunction with the particles *so(sa)* = 'here', *sin* = 'there', *tall* = 'yonder' (lit. 'on the other side'), *ucut* = 'yonder' (lit. 'at thee'), *tuas* = 'above'; *so(sa)* usually becomes *se*, *seo*, *sea* after a word ending in a palatal consonant, e.g. *in fer so* (*fer<sup>a</sup>*) *ind fir se* (*fir<sup>i</sup>*) *in fer tall*, *in fer ucut*, *in rí tuas* (for the construction cf. the French *cet homme-ci*, *cet homme-là*). The above demonstrative may be further emphasized by the introduction of the particle *-i*, e.g. *in fer isiu* (*i* + *so*), *in fer isin*, *in fer tthall*.

### III.—THE NOUN.

47. There are three genders of nouns—masculine, feminine, and neuter; three numbers—singular, dual, and plural; and five cases—nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, and vocative. The dual is only employed after the numeral *dá* (*dí*). The gen. and dat. sg. of some stems

were originally locative or instrumental, and the dat. pl. of all stems is derived from the Id.G. instrumental. In *cinn* < \**kyennei* or \**kyennoi* = 'at the end of,' the old locative is retained distinct from the dat. *ciunn*. In neuter nouns the nom. acc. and voc. have the same form. In the dual of all genders the nom. and acc. are the same and the voc. is lost. Only the masc. -o- stems retain a voc. sg. distinct from the nom. sg. and, with the exception of nasal stems, the dat. and acc. sg. of fem. nouns have the same form.

48. For purposes of declension the nouns are divided into two groups, viz- *vocalic* stems and *consonantal* stems.

### A.—VOCALIC STEMS.

#### 1. -o- stems. Masculine and neuter.

The Id.G. case-endings for N.G.D.A.V. of -o- and -io- stems are as follows :—

	Sing.		Dual		Plural	
	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.
N.	-os	-om	{ -ōy -ō	-oi	-ōs	-ā
G.	-o-siō			?	-ōm	
D.	-ōi		-bhēm		-obh-	
A.	-om	-om			-ons	-ā
V.	-e	-om			as nom. as nom.	

Prehistoric Irish case-endings of -o- and -io- stems :

	Sing.		Dual	Plural	
	masc.	neut.	masc. & neut.	masc.	neut.
N.	-as	-an	-u	-i	-a
G.	-i	-i	-u	an	-an
D.	-u	-u	-abin	-abis	-abis
A.	-an	-an	-u	-ūs	-a
V.	-i < -e	-an		-u	-a

49. Examples of Old Irish declension ; masc. *fer*, 'man'; neut. *dliged*, 'law.' (As in the paradigm of the article -' , -<sup>n</sup>, denote aspiration or nasalization of the succeeding anlaut.)

	Sing.		Dual		Plural	
	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.
N.	<i>fer</i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fer'</i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fir'</i>	{ <i>dliged'</i> <i>dligeda'</i>
G.	<i>fir'</i>	<i>dligid'</i>	<i>fer'</i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fer<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>fuir'</i>	<i>dligud'</i>	<i>feraib<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>dligedaib<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>feraib</i>	<i>dligedaib</i>
A.	<i>fer<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fer'</i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>firu</i>	{ <i>dliged'</i> <i>dligeda'</i>
V.	<i>fir'</i>	<i>dliged<sup>n</sup></i>			<i>firu</i>	not found

Nouns whose final syllable has *é* by compensatory lengthening form their gens. sg. in *-éuil*, *-éoil*, or *tuil*: e.g. *scél*, gen. *scéuil* or *sceoil*; *nél*, gen. *núuil*. Short *é* is sometimes retained in the gen. sg. side by side with infecting *-i*; e.g. *neirt*, *eich*. In the dat. sg. *-u*-infection is not always found; e.g. *macc*, *salm*, *corp*, *bás*: in such cases the dat. does not differ from the nom. in form. Sometimes the *-u*-displaces the root vowel; e.g. *son*, *ball*, *craim*, dat. sg. *sun*, *bull* or *baull*, *cruim*: *ech* makes dat. *eoch*, acc. pl. *eochu* (v. § 32); *iasc*, *fiach*, *Dia* make gen. sg. and nom. pl. *éisc*, *féich*, *Dé*, but *biad*, *diall* (disyllabic) make gen. and dat. sg. *buid*, *biud*, *diüll*, *diull*; *demun* has nom. pl. *demnae* through the influence of Lat. *daemonia* (Thurn). Some neut. nouns in *-ch* form plurals like *s*-stems, e.g. *tossach*, nom. pl. *tosge*; *cúimrech*, dat. pl. *cúimrigib*.

## 2. *-io-* stems.

50. Examples: masc. *céle*, 'companion'; neut. *cride*, 'heart.'

	Sing.		Dual		Plural	
	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.
N.	<i>céle</i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céle'</i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céli'</i>	<i>cride</i>
G.	<i>céli'</i>	<i>cridi'</i>	<i>céle'</i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céle<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>céliu'</i>	<i>cridiu'</i>	<i>célib<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>cridib<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>célib</i>	<i>cridib</i>
A.	<i>céle<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céle</i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céliu</i>	<i>cride</i>
V.	<i>céli'</i>	<i>cride<sup>n</sup></i>			<i>céliu</i>	<i>cride</i>

In nouns with non-palatal groups of consonants the dat. sg. ends in *-u* instead of *-iu*, e.g. *daltu*, *cumachtu*, from *daltae*, *cumachtae*, and in later MSS. their ending *-ae* is



frequently written *-a*. *Duini* occurs a few times for *duiniu*. The following nouns are irregular: *duine*, plur. N.A.V. *doini*, G. *doine*, D. *doinib*; *Iudide*, plur. G. *Iude*, D. *Iudeib* or *Iudéib*, A.V. *Iudeu* or *Iudeiu*; *lathe* has also the shorter forms N.A. sg. *lae*, *lāa*, G. *lai*, D. *láu*, *láo*, *lóu*, *ló*, N.G.A. pl. *lae*, *lá*, D. *laib*. The *-io-* stems had the same case-endings as the *-o-* stems but they are distinguished from the latter by the retention of weakened forms of the endings in all cases of all numbers whereas in the *-o-* stems traces of the endings are found only in the A.V. pl. masc. and dat. pl. and dual masc. and neut. This is due to the *-i-* of the stem: thus *\*uirōs* gives *fer*, but *\*kegliōs* > *céle*; *\*dligeti*, *\*dligetū* > *dligid*, *dligud*, but *\*k'ridiū*, *\*k'ridiō* > *cridi*, *cridiu*.

51. The declension of *-o-* and *-io-* stems varies from the original Id.G. in the following particulars: the dat. sg. in *-u* e.g. *\*firu*, *céliu* is probably the Id.G. instrumental case in *-ō*; the gen. sg. masc. and neut. in *-ī*, common to Italic and Keltic, is probably the Id.G. locative; the nom. pl. masc. in *-ī* < *-oi* instead of Id.G. *-ōs* has, like Gk. and Lat., been influenced by the pronominal declension, but the genuine nom. pl. is retained as a vocative, e.g. *firu* from *\*uirōs*. The dual N.A. masc. should regularly have given *fīur* < *\*firu* < *\*uirō* or *\*uirōu*, but the influence of the invariably accompanying *dá* probably changed the *-ō* to *-ā* and prevented it from becoming *-u*; thus *dá* *\*uirā* > *dá fer*. The dual N.A. neut. causing nasalization instead of aspiration show variation from the Id.G. vocalic ending.

### 3. *-ā-* and *-iā-* stems. Feminines.

#### 52. Id.G. and prehistoric Old Irish case-endings.

	Sing.		Dual		Plural.	
	Id.G.	Pr.O.Ir.	Id.G.	Pr.O.Ir.	Id.G.	Pr.O.Ir.
N.	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-a<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>-ē<sub>2</sub></i> , <i>-i</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i>
G.	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i> , <i>-ēs</i>			?	<i>-am</i> , <i>-an</i>
D.	<i>-āi</i>	<i>-āi</i> , <i>-ēi</i> , <i>-i</i>			?	<i>-ābis</i> , <i>-iābis</i>
A.	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ān</i> , <i>-ēn</i> , <i>-īn</i>	<i>-a<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>-ē<sub>2</sub></i> , <i>i</i>	<i>-ās</i> , <i>-ans</i>	<i>-ās</i>
V.	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>			<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i>



Example of the declension of *-ā-* stems, *túath* 'people.'

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
N.	<i>túath</i> <sup>i</sup>	<i>túaith</i>	<i>túatha</i>
G.	<i>túaithe</i>	<i>túath</i>	<i>túath</i> <sup>n</sup>
D.	<i>túaithe</i> <sup>i</sup>	<i>túathaib</i>	<i>túathaib</i>
A.	<i>túaithe</i> <sup>n</sup>	<i>túaithe</i>	<i>túatha</i>
V.	<i>túath</i> <sup>i</sup>		<i>túatha</i>

The noun *ben* 'woman' is declined: N.V. sg. *ben*, G. *mnd* < \**bnd*, D. *mndi* < \**bndi*, A. *mndi* < \**bndáin*; dual N.A. *mndi* < \**bndi*, G. *ban*, D. *mndib* < \**bndib*; plur. N.A.V. *mnd* < \**bnd*, G. *ban*, D. *mndib* < \**bndib*. This is the only noun in which the declension follows the original case-endings of the *-ā-* stems (except in the acc. sg.); all other nouns of this declension have been influenced by the *-ī-*, *īē-* stems. Nouns in *-acht* do not undergo palatalization, e.g. *dóinacht*, G.sg. *dóinachtæ*, D.sg. *dóinacht*, A.sg. *dóinacht*<sup>n</sup>. In verbal nouns the dat. sg. form is often used for the nom., e.g. *gabál* or *gabáil*, both or *buith*, *breth* or *brith*. Some nouns in the sing. alternate between the *-ā-* and the *-n-* declension, e.g. *bendacht*-G.sg. *bendachtæ* or *bendachtan*; *fortacht*, A.sg. *fortach*, *táin* as well as *fortacht*: *persan*, G.sg. *persine* makes N.pl. *persin*.

**53.** Examples of *-īā-* stems: *guide*, 'prayer'; *bliadain*, 'year.'

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
N.V.	<i>guide</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>bliadain</i> <sup>i</sup>	<i>guidi</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>bliadain</i>	<i>guidi</i> <i>bliadnai</i>
G.	<i>guide</i> <i>bliadnae</i>	<i>guide</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>bliadnae</i> <sup>n</sup>	<i>guide</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>bliadnae</i> <sup>n</sup>
D.	<i>guidi</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>bliadnai</i> <sup>i</sup>	<i>guidib</i> <i>bliadnaib</i>	<i>guidib</i> <i>bliadnaib</i>
A.	<i>guidi</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>bliadnai</i> <sup>n</sup>	<i>guidi</i> <i>bliadain</i>	<i>guidi</i> <i>bliadnai</i>

Like *guide* are declined *soilse*, *ungae*; like *bliadain*, *adaig* G.sg. *aidche*, *sétig* G.sg. *séitche*. Some nouns inflect the G.D. and A.sg. like *-i-* stems, e.g. *inis*, G. *inse*, *inseo*, D.A. *insi* and *inis*: others follow this declension only in the G.sg., e.g. *méit*, G. *méite*, D. *méit*; *canóin*, G. *canóne*, D. *canóin*. Nouns of the type of *bliadain* had in the N.sg. the ending in *-ī-*; thus Id.G. *bhrg'hntī*, fem. of *bhrg'hont* 'exalted' = O.Ir. *Brigit* (i.e. 'exalted lady') = Skr. *brhatī*. In the N.A. dual they have the same form as the N.sg. from the influence of the *-i-* stems. In the N.V. plur. all nouns of

this declension have adopted the termination of the *-i-* stems.

4. *-i-* stems. All three genders.

54. Id.G. and prehistoric Old Irish case-endings :

	Sing.		Dual		Plural	
	m.&f.	neut.	m.&f.	neut.	m.&f.	neut.
N.	<i>-is, -is</i>	<i>-i, -i</i>	<i>-i, -i</i>	<i>-i, -i</i>	<i>eies, -i</i>	<i>-ia, -e</i>
G.	<i>-i̇-os, -ias</i>				<i>-iōm(-eḡōm)-en</i>	
D.	<i>-i̇-aḡ, -e</i>				<i>-ibh-, -ibis</i>	
A.	<i>-im, -in</i>	<i>-i, -i</i>			<i>-ins(-is), -i</i>	<i>-ia, -e</i>

Examples of *-i-* stems : masc. *cnáim*, 'bone'; fem. *súil*, 'eye'; neut. *muir* 'sea.'

	Sing.			Plural		
	masc.	fem.	neut.	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.V.	<i>cnáim</i>	<i>súil</i>	<i>muir<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>cnámai</i>	<i>súili</i>	<i>muire</i>
G.	<i>cnámo, -a</i>	<i>súlo, -a</i>	<i>moro, -a</i>	<i>cnámae<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>súile<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>muire<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>cnáim</i>	<i>súil</i>	<i>muir</i>	<i>cnámaiḃ</i>	<i>súilib</i>	<i>muirib</i>
A.	<i>cnáim<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>súil<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>muir<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>cnámai</i>	<i>súili</i>	<i>muire</i>

	Dual		
	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.A.V.	<i>cnáim</i>	<i>súil</i>	<i>muir<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	as sg.	as sg.	as sg.
D.	as pl.	as pl.	as pl.

Deviations from the original Id.G. declension :

the N.A. neut. cause nasalization from the analogy of the *-o-* and *-n-* stems; the G. in *-o* (later *-a*) is borrowed from the *-u-* stems, the G. in *-ias* being found in Ogham inscriptions. Nouns like *fraig*, *graiḡ* make gens. *ḡrega*, *grega*; *biail* makes its G. *béla*; loanwords like *abbgitir*, *testimin*, *stoir*, *posit*, *comparit*, *superlait*, *digaim* show no ending in the G.sg.

5. *-u-* stems. Masculine and neuter.

55. Id.G. and prehistoric Old Irish case-ending :

	Sing.		Dual		Plural	
	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.
N.V.	<i>-us, -us</i>	<i>-u, -u</i>	<i>-u, -u</i>	<i>-i, -i</i>	<i>-eues, oues</i>	<i>-uə</i>
G.	<i>{-eūs,</i> <i>-oūs, -os</i>			?	<i>-uom,</i> <i>-ubh-, -ouobis</i>	
D.	<i>-euaḡ, -eu</i>		<i>-bhém, -bin</i>			
A.	<i>-um, -un</i>	<i>-u, -u</i>	<i>-u, -u</i>	<i>-i, -i</i>	<i>-uns, -ūs</i>	<i>-uə</i>

## Plural.

N.	<i>nathraig</i>	<i>airig</i>	<i>ríg</i>
G.	<i>nathrach<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>airech<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>ríg<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>nathrachaib</i>	<i>airechaib</i>	<i>rígaið</i>
A.	<i>nathracha</i>	<i>airecha</i>	<i>ríga</i>

## Dual.

N.A.	<i>nathraig', nathir</i>	<i>airig'</i>	<i>ríg'</i>
G.	<i>nathrach</i>	<i>airech</i>	<i>ríg</i>
D.	<i>nathrachaib</i>	<i>airechaib</i>	<i>rígaið</i>

The -g of *ríg* has *a*-quality in G.sg., pl. and dual, *i*-quality in D.A.sg. and N.pl. and dual.

Like *nathir* are declined *cathir*, 'city'; the proper name *Lugaid*, G. *Luigdech* (Ogham *Lugudeccas*); *sail*, 'willow,' G. *sailech*: like *aire*, the proper name *Aimmire*, G. *Aimmirech*; *are*, 'temple,' G. *arach*; later also *malae*, f. 'eyebrow,' G. *malach*, pl.D. *mailgib*: also the following nouns ending in -u or -o, the proper names *Cíanu*, G. *Cíanach*; *Eochu*, G. *Echach*; *céu* (*céo*) m. 'mist,' G. *ciach*; *éu* (*éo*), m. 'salmon' (*éu* < \**esoh* < \**esōks*), G. *iach*: like *rí*, but with a short vowel, *brí* 'hill,' G. *breg*, D. *brig*; *trú* 'one doomed,' pl.N. *troich*, G. *troch*, A. *trocha*.

Many nouns whose N.sg. ends in -r or -l have been attracted to this declension; thus *Temuir* 'Tara,' *ail* f. 'rock,' *daur* (later *dair*) 'oak' have G. *Temro*, *alo*, *daro*, but later also *Temrach*, *ailech*, *darach*; even the r-stem *úasal-athir* 'Patriarch' has D.pl. *húasalathrachaib* Wb. 30 d 1. The noun *lie* m. 'stone' is a stem in unlenited c (i.e. *gg*), G. *liac*, D.A.sg., N.pl. *lieic* (later *liic*). A.pl. *leca*.

Stems in a lenited dental (*th*, *d*).

58. Masc. and fem. only. Examples: *traig* f. 'foot' *fili* 'poet'; *tengae* f. 'tongue.' (Pr.-Kelt. forms of noms. sg. uncertain owing to analogical changes).

## Singular.

N.	<i>traig</i>	<i>fili</i>	<i>tengae</i>
G.	<i>traiged</i>	<i>fíled</i>	<i>tengad</i>
D.	<i>traigid', traig'</i>	<i>filid'</i>	<i>tengaid'</i>
A.	<i>traigid<sup>n</sup>, traig<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>filid<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tengaid<sup>n</sup></i>
V.	<i>traig'</i>	<i>fili'</i>	<i>tengae'</i>

## Plural.

N.	<i>traigid</i>	<i>filid</i>	<i>tengaid</i>
G.	<i>traiged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fled<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tengad<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>traigthib</i>	<i>fledaib</i>	<i>tengthaib</i>
A.	<i>traigthea</i>	<i>fleda</i>	<i>tengtha</i>

## Dual

N.A.	<i>traigid</i>	<i>filid</i>	<i>tengaid</i>
G.	<i>traiged<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fled<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tengad<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>traigthib</i>	<i>fledaib</i>	<i>tengthaib</i>

Like *traig* are declined :—

*cin*, m. 'fault' D.A. *cinaid* and *cin*, D.pl. *cintaib*, A. *cinta*.

*cing*, m. 'warrior,' G. *cinged*, *cingeth*.

*míl*, m. 'soldier,' G. *míled*, D.pl. *míledaib*.

*ap*, abb. m. 'abbot.' G. *apad*, D.pl. *apthaib*.

*sut*, 'sage,' and *druí* 'druid,' make G. *suad*, *druad*.

*cré* f. 'clay' and *dé* f. 'smoke,' make G. *criad*, *diad*.

*luch*, f. 'mouse' makes G. *lochad*, D.A. *lochaid*, A.pl. *lochtha*.

Like *fili* is declined *oígi*, *óegi* m., 'guest,' G. *oíged*, A.pl. *oígetha*.

Like *tengae* are declined *ascae* m., 'rival,' G. *ascad*, D.pl. *ascadaib*; *tene* m. and f. 'fire,' G. *tened*, D. *tenid* and *ten* (i.e. *tein*) D.pl. *teintib*; *niae* m. 'nephew,' G. *niad* (Ogham *niotta* < \**nepotas*) (*nio* 'champion,' G. *nioth* is probably the same word); in later examples like *léine* f. 'smock,' and *seiche* f. 'hide,' the old -e and -i endings are no longer distinguishable. To this declension belong also abstract nouns in -tu < \**-túts* e.g. *oíntu*, *oítiu*, *bethu*; similarly. *bibdu* m. 'guilty person,' *coimmdiu* m. 'lord,' G. *bibdad*, *coimmded*.

Stems in -t (i.e. -dd < \**-nt*). masc. and neut.

59. Examples: *carae* (\**karants*) m. 'friend'; *fiche* (\**uikents*) m. 'twenty'; *dét* (\**dent* < \**dnt*) n. 'tooth.'

## Singular.

N.	<i>carae</i>	<i>fiche</i>	<i>dét<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>carat</i>	<i>fichet</i>	<i>dét</i>
D.	<i>carait'</i>	<i>fichit'</i>	<i>dét'</i>
A.	<i>carait<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fichit<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>dét<sup>n</sup></i>
V.	<i>carae'</i>		

## Plural.

N.	<i>carait</i>	<i>fichit</i>	<i>dét</i> (later <i>déta</i> )
G.	<i>carat<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>fichet<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>dét<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>cairtib, -dib</i>	<i>fichtib</i>	<i>détaib</i>
A.	<i>cairtea, -dea</i>	<i>fichtea</i>	<i>dét</i> (later <i>déta</i> )
V.	<i>cairtea, -dea</i>		

## Dual.

N.A.	<i>carait</i>	<i>fichit</i>	<i>dét<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>carat</i>	<i>fichet</i>	<i>dét</i>
D.	<i>cairtib, -dib</i>	<i>fichtib</i>	<i>détaib</i>

Like *carae* are declined *námae* 'enemy,' *brágae* 'neck,' and *fiada* 'lord' with *-a* in N.; like *fiche*, *ainmne* 'patience' and *dínu* (\**dēnonts*) 'lamb' with *-u* in N.: *tricha* (probably older *trichae*) 'thirty,' *coíca* 'fifty,' and *sechtmogo* 'seventy,' G. *sechtmogat* also belong to this declension; like *dét* is declined *lóchet*, *lóchat* 'lightning,' G. *lochet*. The nasalization in sg. N.A. of neuters is analogical.

Stems in lenited *-n*.

## 60. Masc. and fem. only.

Examples: *brithem* m. 'judge'; *toimtiu* f. 'meaning'; *cú* m. 'hound.'

## Singular.

N.	<i>brithem</i>	<i>toimtiu</i>	<i>cú</i>
G.	<i>brithemon, -mun</i>	<i>toimten</i>	<i>con</i>
D.	<i>brithemain<sup>i</sup>, brithem</i>	<i>toimtin<sup>i</sup>, -te, -tiu</i>	<i>coin<sup>i</sup></i>
A.	<i>brithemain<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>toimtin<sup>n</sup>, -tiu</i>	<i>coin<sup>n</sup></i>
V.	<i>brithem<sup>i</sup></i>		<i>cú</i>

## Plural.

N.	<i>brithemain</i>	<i>toimtin</i>	<i>coin</i>
G.	<i>brithemon<sup>n</sup>, -mun<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>toimten<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>con<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>brithemnaib</i>	<i>toimtenaib</i>	<i>conaib</i>
A.	<i>brithemna</i>	<i>toimtena</i>	<i>cona</i>

## Dual.

N.A.	<i>brithemain</i>	<i>coin</i>
G.	<i>brithemon, -mun</i>	<i>con</i>
D.	<i>brithemnaib</i>	<i>conaib</i>

Like *brithem* are declined nouns in *-em* and *-am*, e.g. *suanem* m. 'rope,' *talam* m. 'earth'; also, with *-u*-quality of the final consonant, *escung* f. 'eel,' G. *escongan*, the proper name *Miliucc*, G. *Milcon*, *bráu* (*bráo*, *bró*) 'quern,' and in *-e* *menmae* m. 'mind,' G. *menman*; like *toimtiu* *nóidiu* m. 'child,' *fiadu* 'witness,' *Mumu* f. 'Munster' *genitiu* f. 'genitive' makes N.pl. *genitne*.

Stems in unlenited *-n* (*-nn*).

61. All genders. Examples: *gobae* m. 'smith'; *Ériu* f. 'Ireland'; *céim* (\**kingsmn*) n. 'step.'

Singular.

N.	<i>gobae</i>	<i>Ériu</i>	<i>céimn<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>gobann</i>	<i>Érenn</i>	<i>céimme</i>
D.	<i>gobainn'</i>	<i>Érinn'</i>	<i>céimnimn'</i> <i>céimn</i>
A.	<i>gobainn<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>Érinn<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céimn<sup>n</sup></i>

Plural.

N.	<i>gobainn</i>	<i>céimnen</i>
G.	<i>gobann<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>céimnen<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	( <i>gobannaib</i> )	( <i>céimmenaib</i> )
A.	( <i>gobanna</i> )	<i>céimnen</i>

Dual.

N.A.	<i>gobainn</i>	( <i>céimn<sup>n</sup></i> )
G.	<i>gobann</i>	( <i>céimnen</i> )
D	( <i>gobannaib</i> )	( <i>céimmenaib</i> )

Like *gobae* but with *-u* in N.sg. are declined *áru* f. 'kidney,' *oblu* f. 'consecrated host,' and proper names as *Ánu*, *Cúalu*; like *Ériu*, *íriu* f. 'land,' D. *írim* or *íre*; *brú* (\**brusū*) f. 'womb' makes G. *bronnn*, D. *broinn* or *brú*; *rétglu* 'star,' G. *rétglann*, dual *dí rétglainn*, D.pl. *rétglannaib*. In fem. nouns the D. form in *-e* is sometimes used instead of the N. e.g. *díle* 'flood' for *díliu*. The neuters form their D.sg. in *imm* instead of *inn* under the assimilating influence of the preceding *-m-* (*-mm-*); that the *-mm* is confined to the D.sg. is due to Pre-Celtic differences of accentuation (Marstrander. *Eriu*, Vol. V.), thus *annaimm* < \**yméni* but N. pl. *annmann* < \**ymna*; the



change of *-inn* to *imm* is confined to neuter nouns because by far the greater number of stems in *-men* are neuter. The noun *ainmm* n. 'name' follows the *n*-flexion in the pl. but varies in the sing. G. *anne*, D.A. *anmimm* and *annaim*: *arbor* (*arbur*) n. 'corn' is an *r*-stem in N.A. sg., but in the other cases it is declined as an *n*-stem, G. *arbae*, D. *arbaimm*, cf. Lat. *femur*, *feminis*.

*r*-stems.

62. Nouns of relationship only. Example: *athir* (\**patēr*) m. 'father.'

	Sing.	Plural	Dual
N.	<i>ath<sup>a</sup>ir</i>	<i>a<sup>i</sup>thir</i>	N.A. <i>ath<sup>a</sup>ir</i>
G.	<i>athar</i>	<i>aithre<sup>n</sup></i> , <i>athr<sup>a</sup>e<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>athar</i>
D.	<i>ath<sup>a</sup>ir</i>	<i>aithrib</i> , <i>athr<sup>a</sup>i<sup>b</sup></i>	as in pl.
A.	<i>ath<sup>a</sup>ir<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>aithrea</i> , <i>athra</i>	
V.	<i>ath<sup>a</sup>ir</i>		

Like *athir* are declined *bráthir* 'brother' and *máthir* 'mother'; the *-th* has *a*-quality all through the sg., in the pl. it has usually *i*-quality but sometimes also *a*-quality as in *athra*: *sáir* (\**syesōr*) f. 'sister,' with lenited anlaut *fuir* or *phiur* (i.e. *sviur*), makes G. *sethar*, D.A. *sieir*, *sier* (later *siair*), N.pl. *sethir*, D. (later) *sethraib*, A. (later) *sethracha* after the analogy of *cathracha*, dual N.A. as in D. sg.

Neuter *s*-stems.

63. Example: *tech* (\**tegas*) 'house.'

	Sing.	Plural	Dual
N.A.	<i>tech<sup>n</sup></i> ( <i>teg<sup>n</sup></i> )	<i>tige</i>	<i>tech<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>tige</i> ( <i>taige</i> )	<i>tige<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tige</i>
D.	<i>taig</i> ( <i>tig</i> )	<i>tigib</i>	<i>tigib</i>

The irregular G.D. sg. *taige*, *taig* beside *tige*, *tig* are probably due to the analogy of *maige*, *maig*. The nasalization in N.A. sg. and dual is analogical.

Like *tech* are declined:

*mag* 'plain,' G. *maige*, D. *maig*, *muig*.

*leth* 'side,' G. *lethe*, D. *leith*.

Similarly *glenn* 'valley,' G. *glinne*, D. *glinn*; *sliab*



'mountain,' G. *sléibe*, D. *sléib*; *nem* 'heaven,' G. *nime*, D. *nim*; *og* 'egg,' G. *ug<sup>ae</sup>*, D. *uig*; *du* (ó) 'ear,' G. *ae*, D. *oi*, *oe*, D. pl. *auib*; probably also '*chlú* 'fame,' G. (later) *chua* < \**chuae*.

#### IRREGULAR NOUNS.

64. *mí* (\**mēns*) m. 'month,' G. D. A. sg., N. G. pl. *mís*, A. pl. *mísa*, dual N.A. *mí*. *bó* (\**bous*) f. 'cow,' G. *bó* (archaic *bou*), D.A. *boin*, N. pl. *baí*, G. *bó* (*ba* S.G. 22 b 11), D. *buaib*, A. *bú*, du. N.A. *baí* G.D. as pl. (*dia*) 'day,' G. *día*, A. *dei*, *dé*. Indeclinable are *togu*, *rogu*, *uccu*, and foreign names as *Ísu*, *Pátricc*.

#### FORMATION OF ABSTRACTS AND DIMINUTIVES.

##### A

65. From adjectives :

(a) suffix *-e* < *-iā* (cf. Lat. *memor-ia*), e.g. *dian* 'swift,' *déne* 'swiftness'; *fáilid*, *-ith* 'joyous,' *fáilte* < \**fáilith-e* 'joy.'

(b) suffix *-tut-* (cf. Lat. *iuuentut-*, Goth. *mikil-dups*), e.g. *beo* 'living,' *bethu* 'life'; *slán* 'healthy,' *slántu* 'health.'

(c) suffix *-us* < *-es-tu-*, e.g. *bind* 'melodious,' *bindius* 'melody'; *cosmuil* 'similar,' *cosmilius* 'similarity.'

(d) suffix *-s* < *-stā* added to monosyllabic adjectives in *-th*, *-d*, e.g. *gnáth* 'customary,' *gnás* 'custom'; *gáth* 'wise,' *gáis* 'wisdom' (*-th* + *s* = *-ss* written *-s*).

##### B

From substantives :

(a) suffix *-acht*, *-echt* < *-akta*, *-ikta* (cf. Lat. *sen-ecta*), e.g. *día*, God, *deacht* 'divinity'; *fili* (G. *filed*) 'poet,' *filedacht* 'poetry'; *doíni* pl. 'men,' *doínecht* and *doínacht* 'humanity.'

(b) suffix *-as* *-es* < *-assu*, e.g. *óclach* 'a youth,' *óclachas* 'youth'; *anamcharae* 'confessor,' *anamchairtes*.

(c) suffix *-ine*, *-sine* < *-īnīa*, *-stīnīa*, e.g. *carae* 'friend,' *cairddine* 'friendship'; *fáith* 'prophet,' *fáithsine* 'prophecy'; *ainbthine* < \**anboth-ine* 'storm' in collective sense.

(d) suffix *-red, -rad* <  $\sqrt{\text{reth-}}$  'to run,' as collective, e.g. *aig* 'ice,' *aigred*; *luaith* 'ashes,' *luaithred*; *gaim-red* 'winter-time,' *sam-rad* 'summer-time'; as abstract, e.g. *mrecht* 'variegated,' *mrechtrad*; *carae, caratrad*. This suffix probably spread by analogy from words like *ind-red* 'invasion,' *ech-rad* 'stud of horses,' in which it had etymological significance.

(e) suffix *-id, -thid*, in nouns of agency, e.g. *dígal* 'vengeance,' *díglaid* 'avenger'; *élned* 'defiling,' *élnithid* 'defiler'; the *-thid* thus arising from *-d* (-ð) + *-id* is also used as a suffix, e.g. *foglaimm* 'learning,' *foglímthid* 'learner.'

(f) suffix *-em*, e.g. *breth* 'judgment,' *brithem* 'judge'; *diúil* 'creation,' *diúilem* 'creator.'

(g) the Lat. suffix *-ārius* which appears in early loan-words as *-ire* and in later as *óir*, e.g. *notire* (*notarius*), *laintóir* (*latinarius*), is employed to form nouns of agency from native words: e.g. *techt* 'going,' *techtair* 'messenger'; *fochell* 'care,' *foichleoir* 'curator': the suffix *-tóir, -atóir* is also used after the analogy of loan-words (e.g. *preceptóir, senatóir*); e.g. *lub-gort* 'garden,' *lubgartóir* 'gardener.'

## DIMINUTIVES.

(a) suffix *-án* < *-akno* (ogham *-agno* in *Corbagni*, &c.), e.g. *fer* 'man,' *ferán*; *duine, duinán*: also *-cān* in *Isucán, cridecán* dim. of 'Jesus' and *críde* 'heart.'

(b) suffix *-én* < *-ikno*, and *-éne*: e.g. *duinén*; *claidib* 'sword,' *claidbéne*; *láir* 'mare,' *láiréne*.

(c) suffix *-at* < *-nt*: *siur* 'sister,' *siur-n-at*; *tír* 'land,' *tír-th-at* 'little field'; *cenn* 'head,' *cen-t-at* 'capitulum.'

## USE OF THE CASES.

### 66. The genitive is used:

(a) adjectivally; possessive, e.g. *ammi dée* 'we are God's'; qualitative, e.g. *is méite* 'it is of importance';

objective, e.g. *serc dé* 'love towards God'; G. of respect, *essamin precepte* 'fearless as regards preaching.'

(b) adverbially: of time, *céne* 'so long as' (N. *cián* 'a long time'); (*h*)*óre* 'because' (N. *úar* 'hour.')

The **dative** is used:

(a) after the preps. *a*, *co*<sup>n</sup>, *di*, *do*, *fiad*, *iar*, *is*, *ó*; *oc*, *ós*, *re* and after *ar*, *fo*, *for*, *i*, which take the A. also.

Without a preposition.

(b) as instrumental: e.g. *in chruth* so 'in this manner,' *huaraib* 'at times,' *sen-messib* 'according to old standards,' *léir ingnu* 'with diligent science'; in apposition, *tussu th-oenur* 'thou alone' (lit. 'thou in thy one-man'), *hé-som triuss* 'he as third,' (for adverbial use v. § 78).

(c) as ablative: after comparatives, e.g. *lia diis no thrúir* 'more than two or three persons.'

(d) as locative: *sú* 'here,' *cinn* 'at the end of'; of time, *indú* 'to-day,' *ind-echt-so* 'this time'; possibly also in the stereotyped phrases *fris-cuirethar céill* 'cultivates,' *ar-beir biuth* 'partakes of,' *ar-muinethar féid* 'honours.'

The **accusative** is used:

(a) after the preps. *cen*, *cenmíthá*, *co* ('to'), *echtar*, *sechtar*, *etar*, *fri*, *im*, *la*, *sech*, *tar*, *tri*, and after *ar*, *fo*, *for*, *i*, which also take the dative.

Without a preposition.

(b) as object to a verb; also after verbs of motion as indicating the goal, e.g. *tiagait báas* 'they go to death,' *a mbás tiagme-ní* 'the death to which we go.'

(c) to denote duration or time when; e.g. *tri fichtea bliadne* 'for 60 years,' *allae sin* 'on that day.'

(d) after *amal* 'like,' e.g. *amal chlanda* 'like children'; after the adjs. *adas* and *túalang* (which also takes the G.), e.g. *bíd adas far mbáich* 'it will be proportionate to your fighting,' *tualang forcital* 'capable of teaching.'

The **vocative** is always preceded by the particle *a'* (*á'*).

## IV.—THE ADJECTIVE.

Practically all adjectives have vocalic stems, only a few traces remaining of the consonantal stems; they are accordingly reduced to five classes—I. *o-ā*-stems, II. *io-ia*-stems, III. *i*-stems, IV. *u*-stems, V. consonantal stems (Thurn.).

## FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES.

67. New adjectives are formed in four ways:

1. From the present or preterite stem by means of the suffix *\*-tjo-*, *\*-tjā* > *-the* (*-te*, *-de*, *-se*) of transitive verbs (passive participle), e.g. *morthae*, *oirndide*, *claisse*.

2. by suffix-less composition; adj. + adj., e.g. *dub-glass*; adj. + noun, e.g. *mór-chenn*; noun + adj., e.g. *folt-buide*; particle or prep. + noun, e.g. *so-nirt*, *deithbir* < *\*de-aithber*; noun + noun, e.g. *cor-thón*.

3. by means of the suffix *-de* (*-d<sup>ae</sup>e*)—(*io-ia*-stems), e.g. *nemdae*, *béstae*, *tuatae* (for *-t<sup>ae</sup>e* v. § 17).

4. by means of the suffix *-ach*, *-ech*—(*o-ā*-stems), e.g. *benn-ach*, *cretmech* < *\*cretem-ech*—*ech* because a palatal cons. precedes.

N.B.—In the case of 2, when the first part is an indeclinable particle, *o-* and *a-* stems pass over to the *i*-flexion, e.g. *so* + *cenél* = *so-chenéuil*; in the case of 3 the auslaut of the stem reappears before *-de*, e.g. *cú*—*condae*, *aire*—*airechdae*, *airegde*.

68.

1. *o-ā*-stems.

Singular.

	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>becc</i>	<i>becc</i>	<i>becc<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>bicc'</i> , <i>beicc'</i>	<i>bicce</i>	<i>bicc'</i> , <i>beicc'</i>
D.	<i>biucc'</i>	<i>bicc</i>	<i>biucc'</i>
A.	<i>becc<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>bicc</i>	<i>becc<sup>n</sup></i>
V.	<i>bicc'</i> , <i>beicc'</i>	<i>becc</i>	<i>bicc'</i> , <i>beicc</i>

## Plural.

N.	<i>bicc', beicc'</i>	<i>becca</i>	<i>becca</i>
G.	<i>becc<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>becc<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>becc<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<i>beccaib</i>	<i>beccaib</i>	<i>beccaib</i>
A.	<i>biccu, becca</i>	<i>becca</i>	<i>becca</i>

As in the declension of the article the neut. pl. forms are not distinguished from the fem. but the shorter i.e. the true neut. form occurs where the adj. is used substantively, e.g. *inna olc* 'the evils.' In A.V. pl. when used substantively the ending *-u* is employed. In the D. sg. m. n. *-u*-inflection is sometimes lacking as in the case of nouns (v. § 49). *dían* 'swift' makes G. m. n. *déin*, f. *déne*, D. m. n. *dían*, f. *déin*; *olc* 'bad,' G. m. *uile*, D. *ulc*, A. pl. *ulcu*; *béu*, *béo* 'living,' G.V. m. *bí*, D. *bíu*, N. pl. m. *bí*, A. *bíu*; *bocht* 'poor' makes G. sg. *boicht* although the group *cht* is non-palatal. Dissyllabic adjectives like *ísel* and *uasal* are inflected in the pl. like *i*-stems when not used substantively, e.g. N.A. pl. *uaisli*, but (*h*) *uasail* (subst.).

2. *io- iā-* stems.

69. Examples: *amrae* 'wonderful,' *uile* 'all.'

## Singular.

	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>amrae uile</i>	<i>amrae' uile'</i>	<i>amrae<sup>n</sup> uile<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>amrai' uili'</i>	<i>amrae uile</i>	<i>amrai' uili'</i>
D.	<i>amru' uiliu'</i>	<i>amrai' uili'</i>	<i>amru' uiliu'</i>
A.	<i>amrae<sup>n</sup> uile<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>amrai<sup>n</sup> uili<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>amrae<sup>n</sup> uile<sup>n</sup></i>
V.	<i>amrai' uili'</i>	<i>amrae uile</i>	<i>amrae<sup>n</sup> uile<sup>n</sup></i>

In pl. m. f. n. N.A.V. *amrai uili*; G. *amrae<sup>n</sup>, uile<sup>n</sup>*; D. *amraib, uilib*. In the A.V. pl. m. when used substantively the ending is *-u*; there is no specially subst. form in N.A.V. pl. n.: *aile* 'other' and *alaile* 'another' make N.A. sg. n. *aill* and *alaill*. *dorchae* is found as pl. of *dorchae* 'dark'; *clé* 'left' makes D. sg. m. *clíu*, f. *clí*.

3. *i*- Stems.70. Example : *maith* 'good.'

## Singular.

	masc.	fem.	neut.
N.	<i>maith</i>	<i>maith'</i>	<i>maith<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>maith'</i>	<i>maithe</i>	<i>maith'</i>
D.	<i>maith'</i>	<i>maith'</i>	<i>maith'</i>
A.	<i>maith<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>maith<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>maith<sup>n</sup></i>
V.	<i>maith'</i>	<i>maith</i>	<i>maith<sup>n</sup></i>

Plural m. f. n. N.A.V. *maithi*, G. *maithe<sup>n</sup>* and *maith<sup>n</sup>*, D. *maithib*. Trisyllabic adjectives undergo syncopation, e.g. N.sg. *sainemai*, G.f. *sainemlae*, N. pl. *sainemlai*, D. *sainemlaib* : *fudumain* 'deep' makes N.A. pl. *fudumne* used substantivally as against adjectival *fudumnai*. The longer form of the G. pl. is only used substantivally.

4. *u*- stems.71. Examples : *dub* 'black,' *follus* 'clear.'

## Singular.

N.	<i>dub follus</i>	<i>dub' follus'</i>	<i>dub<sup>n</sup> follus<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>duib' follais</i>	<i>dubae foilse</i>	<i>duib' follais'</i>
D.	<i>dub' follus'</i>	<i>duib' follais'</i>	<i>dub' follus'</i>
A.	<i>dub<sup>n</sup> follus<sup>n</sup></i>	not found	<i>dub<sup>n</sup> follus<sup>n</sup></i>

Plural N.A. *dubai*, *foilsi* ; D. *dubaib*, *foilsib* ; other cases not found. These adjectives follow the true declension of *u*- stems only in the N. sg. of all genders and in the D.A. sg. m. n., the V. is not found. In the G. sg. they follow the declension of the *o*- *ā*- stems and in the pl. that of the *i*- stems.

## 5. Consonantal Stems.

72. The only certain example is *tee*, *té* < \**tepents* 'hot' an old *nt*- stem which make N. pl. f. *teit* < \**tepentes*.



## COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

73. The adjective has three forms of comparison, viz. equative, comparative, and superlative. The equative is formed by means of the suffix *-ithir, -idir* (i.e. *īdir*): *th* as a rule changes to *ð* when separated by two or more weakly-accented syllables from the syllable which bears the principal stress, accordingly *-idir* is the form of the suffix usual in adjectives of more than one syllable, e.g. *dían* 'swift,' *dénithir* 'as swift'; *soirb* 'easy,' *soirbithir* 'as easy'; but *suthain* 'lasting,' *suthainidir*; *sonairt* 'strong,' *sonartaidir*; *már, mór* 'great' makes e.q. *moir*; *il* 'many,' e.q. *lir*; *lethan* 'broad,' e.q. *lethidir*.

N.B.—The equative is followed by the A of the noun, e.g. *sonartaidir slébe* (A. pl.) 'as strong as mountains.'

74. The comparative is formed by adding to the positive the suffix *-u*: since this *-u* represents earlier *\*-iūs < \*-iōs* it causes, where possible, palatalization of the final consonant of the adj. e.g. *dían, déniu*; *sen* 'old,' *siniu*; with syncope, *áilind* 'beautiful,' *áildiu < \*áilndiu*; *fáilid* 'joyous,' *fáiltiu*: but *ard* 'high,' *ardu*; *tromm* 'heavy,' *trummu*; *cumachtach* 'powerful,' *cunachtchu*: for the depalatalization in *doich, dochu, cóir, córu, &c.*, v. § 22: when the positive ends in a vowel the vowel disappears before the suffix, e.g. *túne, asse*, comps. *tanu, assu*. The final consonant of the positive frequently retains its non-palatal quality in the comparative also, e.g. *irlam* 'ready,' *irlamu*; *firián* 'just,' *firiánu*.

75. The superlative is formed by adding the suffix *-em < \*-isama-* cf. Lat. *-issimus*, or, after consonants which do not admit palatalization, *-am*; e.g. *soirb* 'easy,' *soirbem*; *folus* 'clear,' *faillsem*; but *anse* 'difficult,' *ansam*: in the Ml. glosses this suffix appears doubled, e.g. *somme* 'rich,' *sommainem*; *firián, firiánamam*; *uasal, uaislinem*.

## Irregular Comparison.

76. Pos.	Comp.	Superl.
<i>il</i> 'many'	<i>lia</i>	not found
<i>lethan</i> 'broad'	<i>letha</i>	not found
<i>már, mór</i> 'great'	<i>mó (móo), má (máo)</i> <i>móu máa</i>	<i>máam (mám)</i> <i>móam</i>
<i>óac</i> 'young'	<i>óa</i>	<i>óam</i>
<i>sír</i> 'long'	<i>sía</i>	<i>síam</i>
<i>trén</i> 'strong'	<i>tressa</i>	<i>tressam</i>

With comparative and superlative formed from other roots than the positive.

<i>accus,ocus</i> 'near'	<i>nessa</i>	<i>nessam</i>
<i>becc</i> 'little'	<i>lugu (laigiu, laugu)</i>	<i>lugam (lugimem)</i>
<i>maith</i> 'good'	<i>ferr</i>	<i>dech (deg)</i>
<i>olc</i> 'bad'	<i>messa</i>	not found

77. Comparatives and superlatives are indeclinable. When the pronom. adj. or an indefinite noun follows a comparative it takes the dative case, e.g. *diliu alailiu* 'dearer than another,' *maissiu maenib* 'more lovely than riches'; the more usual construction is with *ol<sup>n</sup>* (in *ML.* also *in*) + the subst. verb *táu (.tó)*, e.g. *sochrudiu oldó-sa* 'more beautiful than I (am),' *ferr oldái* 'better than thou (art),' *islíu oldate angil* 'lower than (are) the angels.' 'The more' is expressed by means of *de* 'of it,' e.g. *ferr de* 'the better of it,' *áigthidíu de* 'the more to be feared.' 'and' in such expressions as 'greater and greater' is rendered by *assa* which caused gemination, e.g. *móo assa móo*, *messa assammessa* 'worse and worse.'

## ADVERBS.

78. Adverbs are formed by using the D. sg. m. or n. of the adj. with the article, e.g. *in biucc* 'little,' *in már (mór)* 'greatly,' *in deurb* 'surely': adjectives in *-de* and participles in *-the* have adverbial forms in *-id, -ith* instead of the dat. e.g. *oíndae* 'single,' *ind oíndaíd* 'singly,' *bástae* 'mortal,' *in bástaíd* 'mortally': the later method of forming adverbs by prefixing *co<sup>n</sup>* is rarely employed, e.g. *commór, commenic, comnaith* (this gemination after *co<sup>n</sup>*

instead of nasalization is probably analogical). Comparatives and superlatives are used adverbially by means of the D. sg. of the article, e.g. *int serbu* 'more bitterly,' *ind lugu* 'less,' *in máam* 'mostly.' Some adjectives are used adverbially prefixed to verbs, e.g. *caín·temadar* 'may he guard-well,' *mad·génatar* 'happy are they' (lit. 'well-born were they,' *mad·bocht* 'it was well-reaped'; *moch* 'early' in the form *mos, mus* is so used to express 'soon,' e.g. *mos·riccub* 'I shall soon-come,' *mos·regae* 'thou wilt soon-go.'

## V.—THE NUMERALS.

79.

Cardinal.

1 <i>oín-, óen-</i>	30 <i>tricha</i> , G. <i>trichat</i>
2 <i>dáu (dó)</i>	40 <i>cethorcha</i> , G. <i>cethorchat</i> ,
3 <i>tri</i>	N. pl. <i>cethorchuit</i>
4 <i>cethir</i>	50 <i>coíca</i> , G. <i>coícat</i> ( <i>cóecat</i> )
5 <i>cóic'</i>	60 <i>sesca</i> , G. <i>sescat</i>
6 <i>sé<sup>g</sup></i>	70 <i>sechtmogo</i> , G. <i>sechtmogat</i>
7 <i>secht<sup>n</sup></i>	80 <i>ochtmoga</i> , G. <i>ochtmugat</i>
8 <i>ocht<sup>n</sup></i>	90 <i>nócha</i> , G. <i>nóchat</i>
9 <i>not<sup>n</sup></i>	100 <i>cét</i> , G. <i>céit</i>
10 <i>deich<sup>n</sup></i>	1000 <i>míle</i>
20 <i>fiche</i> , G. <i>fichet</i>	2000 <i>dí míli</i> (dual)

*oín-* (*óen-*) as adj. only occurs in compounds; it is sometimes found inflected and then follows the declension of adjs. of *o-ā*-stems, e.g. *inna oenaméite* (G.sg.f.) 'of the same size': the form *dáu (dó)* is only used when no subst. follows as in counting, and when the numerals are so used they are preceded by a geminating particle *a*, e.g. *a daú*, *a trí*, *a ocht* (pron. *a hocht* and so written in Mid. and Mod. I.); its composition form is *dé*, e.g. *de-sillabach* 'dissyllabic'; the form used before substs. is *dá*, f. *dí*, and is declined as follows:—

N.A.	<i>dá'</i>	<i>dí'</i>	<i>dá<sup>n</sup></i>
G.	<i>dá'</i>	<i>dá'</i>	<i>dá<sup>n</sup></i>
D.	<div style="text-align: center;"> <span style="font-size: 1.5em;">}</span>  <i>dib<sup>n</sup> (deib<sup>n</sup>)</i> </div>		

*trí* has as composition form *tré* (*tri*, *tre*), *cethir* has *cethar* and *cethr-*; *trí* and *cethir* are declined thus:—

masc.	fem.	neut.
N <i>tri cethir</i>	<i>teoir, teora cetheoir, cetheora</i>	<i>tri' cethir'</i>
G. <i>tri<sup>n</sup> (cethre<sup>n</sup>)</i>	<i>teora<sup>n</sup> cetheora<sup>n</sup></i>	<i>tri<sup>n</sup> (cethre<sup>n</sup>)</i>
D. <i>trib (cethrib)</i>	<i>teoraib cetheoraib</i>	<i>trib (cethrib)</i>
A. <i>tri cethri</i>	<i>teora cetheora</i>	<i>tri' cethir'</i>

*cóic* and *sé* cause nasalization in the G., *ocht* nasalizes after the analogy of *secht*; *cét* is declined like a neut. o- stem (v. § 49), *míle* f. like *guide*, (*ĩū*- stem), *fiche*, *trichae* &c. are dental stems. The numerals 11—19 are built up by adding *déac* to *óen*, *dáu*, *trí*, &c., e.g. *a trí deac*: when used with a noun the noun is placed between the two numerals, e.g. *trí míis deac* 'thirteen months,' *coic sailm sechtnogat* '75 Psalms': after 20 the numerals are connected by the prep. *ar* (foll. by D.), e.g. *oén ar fichit* '21,' *fiche ar chet* '120,' note also *bó ar fichit* '21 cows.'

## 80.

## Ordinal.

1st <i>cét-, cétnae</i>	8th <i>ochtmad</i>
2nd <i>tánaise, aile</i>	9th <i>nómad</i>
3rd <i>tris, tres</i>	10th <i>dechmad</i>
4th <i>cethramad</i>	20th <i>fichetmad</i>
5th <i>cóiced</i>	30th <i>trichatmad</i>
6th <i>sessed</i>	50th <i>coícetmad</i>
7th <i>sechtmad</i>	100th <i>cétmad</i>

*cét* < \**kentu* (cf. Gaulish *cintugnatus* 'first-born,' W. *cynt*), while *cét* 'a hundred' < \**kanton*, is only used in compounds, e.g. *in sét-fer*; *cétnae* (*is*- stem) is used adjectivally, e.g. *cétnae fer*; when it follows the noun it means 'same,' e.g. *in fer cétnae* 'the same man': *óenmad* is used instead of *cétnae* before the tens, e.g. *óenmad ar déc*, *ar fichit* '11th, 21st,' *ind óenmad rann fichet* 'the 21st part.' As a verbal prefix it takes the form *cetu* (*ceta*, *cita*) e.g. *cetu-ru-pridach* 'has first-preached,' *ceta-déni* 'does first,' *ad-cita-acae* 'saw first.' *tánaise* follows its noun, *ala* (*aile*) precedes; before the noun with or without the art. *aile* becomes *ala* and remains uninflected:

the termination *-mad* is a compound of the endings *-amo* + *-eto*; the ending *-amo-* was originally confined to *sechtmad* and *dechmad* (cf. Lat. *septimus*, *decimus*) and afterwards spread through analogy: *cóiced* has the ending *-eto-* alone, *seissed* the same ending through analogy. Some of the Lat. ordinals were also borrowed, e.g. *prím-abstal*, *secnd-abb*, and in grammatical phraseology *tert-cobedan* 'third conjugation,' *quart-diáll* 'fourth declension.'

#### NUMERAL SUBSTANTIVES.

81. *úathad* 'one thing,' *déde*, *tréde*, *cethardae*, *séde*, *sechtae*, '2, 3, &c. things'; the forms for 5, 8, 9, 10 do not occur (later *cóicde*, *deichde*). For persons are used the following forms which, with the exception of *días*, are the cardinals compounded with *fer* 'man': *óinar*, (*óenar*), G. *óinair*, D. *óinur*; *días* f. G. *desse*, D. *düs*, *düs*, (*düs*), D. pl. *dessib*; *triar*; *cethrar*; *cóicer*; *sesser*; *mor-feser* (lit. 'great-six'); *ochtar*; *nónbor*; *deichenbor*.

#### FRACTIONS.

82.  $\frac{1}{2}$  = *leth* (n. -o- stem), G. *leith*, also used in compounds;  $\frac{1}{3}$  = *trián* n. D. *triun*;  $\frac{1}{4}$  = *cethramthu* f. G. *cethramthan*; from  $\frac{1}{5}$  onwards the ordinals are employed either alone or with *rann* 'part,' e.g. *cóiced* =  $\frac{1}{5}$ , *sechtmad rann* =  $\frac{1}{7}$ . Multiplicatives are formed by the prep. *fo* with the A. e.g. *fo dí* 'twice,' *fo thri*, *fo deich*, *fo ocht fichet* 'twenty-eight times.' *óen-fecht* is used for 'once.' Distributives are formed by prefixing *cach*, e.g. *cach óin* 'each one,' *cach dá*, *cach cóicer* &c. *cach-la* < *cach-ala* = 'every other,' 'every second,' e.g. *cach-la sel* 'alternately.'

### VI.—THE PRONOUNS.

#### 83.

#### PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

	Sing.		Plur.
I	<i>mé</i> ( <i>messe</i> , <i>mese</i> )	we	<i>sni</i> ( <i>snisni</i> , <i>sníni</i> , <i>sisni</i> ,
thou	<i>tú</i> ( <i>tussu</i> , <i>tusu</i> )		<i>sinni</i> , <i>níni</i> )
he	<i>é</i> ( <i>hé</i> , <i>é som</i> ( <i>sium</i> ))	ye	<i>sí</i> ( <i>sib</i> , <i>sissi</i> , <i>sísi</i> )
she	<i>sí</i> ( <i>sissi</i> )		
it	<i>ed</i> ( <i>hed</i> , <i>ed ón</i> )	they	<i>é</i> , neut. <i>é són</i>
	<i>d</i>		



The N. of the 1st. pers. corresponding to Lat. *ego*, Gk. *ἐγώ*, Skr. *ahám* is lost, *mé* being an oblique case (cf. Lat. *me*, Gk. *ἐμέ*, Skr. *mā*). The longer forms (those in parentheses) are emphatic; they are produced either by the addition of a demonstrative particle *se*, *sa*, *som*, *són* or by reduplication of the pronoun itself as in the 3rd f. and 1st and 2nd pl. The *s* of *sní* may be borrowed from the original verbal ending of the 1st pl. *\*-mos*, thus *\*-mos-ní* – *\*-mo-sní*, or may have arisen from the *-s* of the 3rd sg. of the copula used with it, e.g. *\*is ní* – *is sní*: *sí* ‘ye’ comes from *\*sui* (W. *chwi*) and the reduplicated form *sib* (i.e. *siβ*) < *\*sif* < *\*sui-sui* (cf. W. *chwychwí*): the persons of the verb are emphasized similarly, e.g. 1st sg. *asbiur sa*, 2nd sg. *asbir sú*, 1st pl. *asberam ní*, 2nd pl. *asberid si*.

#### POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

84. Sing. 1st pers. *mo*‘ (*mu*‘); 2nd *do*‘ (*du*‘); 3rd m. and n. *a*‘, f. *a<sup>g</sup>*; plur. 1st *ar<sup>n</sup>*; 2nd *far<sup>n</sup>* (*for<sup>n</sup>*), after a prep. ending in a vowel or *-r* also *bar<sup>n</sup>* (i.e. *βar<sup>n</sup>*); 3rd *a<sup>n</sup>* for all genders. *mo* comes from an apocopated G. *men* < *\*mene* (cf. O.W. *myn*) but aspirates after the analogy of *do*; *a*‘ comes from a form with vocalic auslaut *\*esjo*, *a<sup>g</sup>* < *\*esjas*, *a<sup>n</sup>* < *\*esjan*; *ar<sup>n</sup>* and *far<sup>n</sup>*, *bar<sup>n</sup>* probably < *\*nsaran* and *\*suaran* old Gs. pl.

#### ACCENTED FORMS.

Sing. 1st *mut* ‘mine,’ emphatic *muisse*, with art. *innam-mui sea* (pl. n.) cf. French *les miens*; 2nd *\*tuí* (Mid. I. *tai*); 3rd sg. and pl. *at* (*ae*), e.g. *a n-at* ‘its’ (art. + n. sg.), *cechtar n-at* ‘each of them’; pl. 1st *nathar* (*nár*) in the phrase *cechtar nathar* (*nár*) ‘each of us two’; 2nd *sethar* (*sár*).

After preps. which end in a vowel and after *for* the proclitic forms *mo*, *do* become *-m*, *-t*, e.g. *dom*, *lat*, *fort*; before a vocalic anlaut or before lenited *f* they may become *m-*, *t-*, e.g. *mo ort* or *m’ort* ‘my dignity,’ *m’olsitiu* (*foí-sitiu*) ‘my confession,’ *tar mo chenn* or *tarm chenn* (lit. ‘over my head’) ‘on my account.’



## INFIXED PRONOUNS.

85. The personal pronouns are termed "infix" when they are closely attached to the verbal forms by means of certain proclitic particles. This method of incorporating pronouns is not peculiar to Celtic but is common to such widely separated languages as Basque, Zulu, and the ancient Accadian; cf. also the transition stage in French *imdi* (spoken for *il me dit*). The infixed pronoun is usually in the acc. case, i.e. as object of a transitive verb whether active or deponent in form; but with passive forms the prons. of the 1st and 2nd pers. are used to express the subject, and with the verb 'to be' the pron. is usually in the dative. When the infixing particle ends or originally ended in a vowel the prons. appear in reduced forms; after those which end or originally ended in a consonant, and in relative sentences, longer forms are retained. In relative sentences there is a special form for the 3rd sg. m. and n.

Shorter forms.		Longer forms.	
Sg. 1 -m(m)-'		Sg. 1 { -dom-(m)-' (-dum-)	
2 -t'		2 -dot-' (-dat-')	
3 { m.-a <sup>n</sup> (- <sup>n</sup> ), t <sup>n</sup>		3 { m.-da <sup>n</sup> , -d <sup>n</sup> ; rel.-id <sup>n</sup> (-did <sup>n</sup> ), -d <sup>n</sup> , - <sup>n</sup>	
3 { f.-s <sup>n</sup> , -s-		3 { f.-da <sup>g</sup>	
3 { n.-a <sup>l</sup> (-'), t'		3 { n.-d <sup>l</sup> ; rel.-id <sup>l</sup> (-did <sup>l</sup> ), -d <sup>l</sup> , -'	
Pl. 1 -n(n)-		Pl. 1 -don(n)-, -dan(n)-	
2 -b- (f)		2 -dob-, -dab- (-dib-)	
3 -s <sup>n</sup> , -s-		3 -da <sup>g</sup>	

Examples of the shorter forms: *ní-m-charat* 'they love me not'; *no-t-beir* (i.e. *no-t-βeir*) 'it brings thee'; *ralléic* < \**ro-an-leic* 'he has left him,' *r-an-uc* < \**ro-an-uc* 'he has brought him,' *ní-n-aithgéuin* 'he did not recognize him'; *du-sn-adbat* 'he shows her,' *du-s-gní* < \**du-sn-gní* 'he makes her'; *r-a-chualatar* < \**ro-a-chualator* 'they have heard it,' after *ní* the -a- disappears but the aspiration remains, e.g. *ní-thabur* < \**ní-a-thabur* 'I do not give it'; *ro-n-soir* 'he has saved us'; *ro-b-car* 'he has loved you'; the 3rd pl. for all genders has the same forms as the 3rd sg. f. e.g. *no-sn-guid* 'he prays them,' *fo-s-didmat* 'they will suffer them.'

Examples of the longer forms: the final consonant of *fri(th)*, *con (com)*, *ad*, *aith*, &c. unites with the initial *d*-to produce *-t-* (v. § 17), *fritammorcat* < \**frith-domm-orcat* 'they offend me,' *nu-dam-chrocha* 'who crucifies me,' *no dom-béra* (i.e. *béra*) 'which will bring me'; *attotaig* < \**ad-dot-aig* 'which impels thee'; *no-da-pridcha* (i.e. *bridcha*) 'who preaches it (lit. 'him'),' *nu-dn-erbai* 'who entrusts himself,' rel. *ad-idn-opair* 'who sacrifices himself,' *fuandrogab* < \**fo-an-d-ro-gab* 'in which he has uttered it (lit. 'him')'; *atarímet* < \**ad-da-rímet* 'they count her'; *atbeir* (i.e. *beir*) < \**as-d-beir* 'he says it,' rel. *amal asindbiur* < \**as-i(n)d-biur* (*b = β*) 'as I say it,' here the *n* of the nasalizing relative-clause is inserted before the *d* of *-id-*; *for-don-cain* 'he teaches us,' *no-don-nerta* 'who strengthens us'; *for-dob-moinetar* 'they envy you,' *hóre no-n-dob-molor* (rel. *n* before *-dob-*) 'because I praise you'; *atasamlibid* < \**ad-da-samlibid* 'ye will imitate them,' *no-da-scara* 'who separates them,' with gemination *in-dammoidet* 'in which they boast themselves'; the exceptional aspiration after *-da-*<sup>g</sup> in *nu-da-chelat*, *nu-da-chéiltis* (ML.) is explained by Thurneysen as arising from forms without infixed prons. e.g. *nu-cheiltis*. After the negative *nach* the forms appear as sg. 1. *-im-*, *-am-*; 2. *-it-*, *-at-*, 3 m. *-n-* or unexpressed f. *-a-* n. *-id-* or merely aspiration: pl. 1 *-in-*, *-an-*; 2 *-ib-*, *-ab-*; 3 *-a-*: e.g. *nach-am-didna* 'does not console me,' *nach-im-rindarpar* 'that he has not cast me away'; *nach-it-rindarpiether* 'that thou be not cast away,' *nach-at-toscélfat* 'that they will not experience thee'; *con-nach-n-ingéuin* 'so that he did not recognize him, unexpressed *con-nách-moídea* 'that he boast not himself'; *con-nach-a-dánaigfeá* 'so that he will not bestow it (lit. 'her')'; *nach-id-chualatar* 'who have not heard it,' with aspiration only *nach-beir* (i.e. *beir*) 'who does not bring it'; *nach-in-rogba* 'that it seize us not,' *nach-an-sótrai* 'that thou dost not deliver us'; *nach-ib-erpid* 'do not entrust yourselves'; *ar-nach-a-moidet* 'that they boast not themselves.' In Wb. the forms in *-im*, *-it*, &c. are found, in ML. those in *-am*, *-at*, &c.

Examples of the dative with the verb 'to be':

*ní-m-thá* 'I have not' (lit. 'there is not to me'), *ro-t-bia* 'thou shalt have' (lit. 'there shall be to thee'), *ní-n-tá* 'we have not,' *no-b-tá* 'you have'; but (accusative) *ní-m-fil* 'I am not,' *ní-n-fil* 'we are not,' *ní-s-fil* 'they are not' (v. substantive verb).

Examples of 1st and 2nd pers. as subject with passive forms: *no-m-glantar* 'I am cleaned,' *no-n-líntar* 'we are filled,' *ro-b-hícad* 'ye have been saved.' When no conjunct particle or preposition precedes the verb the particle *no* (*ni*) is employed to infix the pronouns. The infixed pron. is frequently used proleptically, e.g. *d-a-gnú-sa sin* 'I do that' (lit. 'I do it that'), *du-da-forsat inna dúli* 'who has created the elements' (lit. 'created them viz. the elements'): the neut. pron. may refer to a noun of another gender, e.g. *r-a-fitir cretín* 'he knows it viz. the faith (f.)'; it is constantly infixed in the verb *at-bail* < \**ad-d-bail* 'he dies' and usually in *fort-gillín* 'I guarantee,' *ara-chrín* 'he perishes,' and *imma-airic* 'he suits'; when infixed in *ro-gab* 'he has taken' in nasalizing relative sentences it changes the meaning of this form to 'he is,' *ron-d-gab*. In the verbs *fo-fera* and *testa* (*do-es-ta*) it has the force of a neut. rel. pron. e.g. *fo-d-era* < \**fo-d-fera* 'which causes,' *do-d-esta* 'which is lacking.' After *cía* 'although' and *ma* 'if' with their negatives *cení*, *maní*, *-d-* is infixed before verbal forms in the indicative which have no infixed pronoun, e.g. *cía do-d-chommar* 'although we went,' *cení-d-fetar-sa* 'although I do not know,' *ma du-d-rigníus* 'if I have done,' *maní-d-chretid* 'if ye do not believe.'

## 86. AFFIXED PRONOUNS AFTER THE COPULA.

These are added to the 3rd sg. of the copula, e.g. *is-um écen* 'it is necessary for me,' *is-a(t) dílmáin*, *ní-b écen*, *is-id n-aithrech*.

## 87. SUFFIXED PRONOUNS.

After verbal forms :

Suffixed pronouns are found after the 3rd sg. and 1st and 3rd pl. of simple active verbs : the forms are—

Sing.	Plur
1 -um	1 -um
2 -ut	2 not found
3 {m. and n. -i, -it f. -us	3 -us

Examples: *sástum* < \**sásaid-um* 'it satisfies me,' *táth-ut* 'thou hast' (lit. 'it is to thee'), *beirthi* < \**berid-i* 'he carries it,' *moit-i* < \**moid'th-i* < \**moidid-i* 'he boasts himself,' *iti-us* < \**ith'thius* < \**ithid-us* 'he eats her,' *táth-unn* 'we have,' *táth-us* 'they have'; -it is used after 1st and 3rd pl. e.g. *bert-it* < \**berit-it* 'they take it,' *gébt-it* 'they will receive him,' *guidmit* 'we pray it.'

After prepositions: Prepositions with dative.

<b>88.</b>	<i>do</i> 'to'	<i>di</i> 'from'	<i>ó (ua)</i> 'from'
Sg. 1	<i>dom, dam</i>	<i>dím</i>	<i>úaim(m)</i>
2	<i>duit, dait</i> <i>deit, dit</i>	<i>dít</i>	<i>úait</i>
3 m n.	<i>dó, dáu</i>	<i>de (dé)</i>	<i>úad, úaid</i>
f. <i>dí</i>		<i>dí</i>	<i>úadi</i>
Pl. 1	<i>dín(n)</i>	<i>dín(n)</i>	<i>úain(n), úan(n)</i>
2	<i>dúib</i>	<i>dib</i>	<i>úaib</i>
3	<i>doaib, duaib</i>	<i>dúib, díib</i>	<i>úaidib (ódib)</i>
	<i>doib, dóib</i>	<i>díb</i>	

*a* 'out of': sg. 2 *essiut*, 3 m. n. *ass, as*, f. *essi, eissi, esse*, pl. 3 *essib, eissib*.

*fiad* 'in presence of': sg. 1 *fiadam*, pl. 2 *fiadib*, 3 *fiadib, fiadaib*.

*iar* 'after': sg. 2 *íarmut*, 3 m. n. *íarum*.

*is* 'under': sg. 1 *íssum*, 3 m. *íssa*.

*oc* 'at': sg. 1 *ocum, ocom*, 2 *ocut*, 3 m. n. *oc(c)o, oc(c)a*, f. *occi, occai, ocae*, pl. 1 *ocunn*, 2 *occaib*, 3 *occaib*.

*ós, úas* 'above': sg. 1 *úasum*, 3 m. n. *úaso, úasa*, pl. 3 *ósib*.

*re* 'before': sg. 1 *ríum*, 2 (*remut*), 3 m. n. *ríam*, f. *remi*, pl. 1 *ríun (remunn)*, 3 *remib*.

Isolated forms are *dessum* 'on my right,' *túathum* 'on my left.'

## Prepositions with accusative.

<b>89.</b> <i>fri</i> 'against'			<i>la</i> 'with'	<i>tri, tre</i> 'through'
Sg. 1	<i>frūmum, frīm</i>	<i>lem(m), lim(m)</i>	<i>trium</i>	
		<i>lium(m)</i>		
	2 <i>frit, friut</i>	<i>lat</i>	<i>triut</i>	
	3 m. n. <i>fris(s)</i>	<i>leiss, les(s), lais</i>	<i>triit, trīit</i>	
	f. <i>frie</i>	<i>lee, laee, lē</i>	<i>tree, trée</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>frinn, frīn</i>	<i>linn, lenn</i>	<i>triun (-ni)</i>	
	2 <i>frib</i>	<i>lib</i>	<i>triib</i>	
	3 <i>friu</i>	<i>leu, léu, leo</i>	<i>treu, tréu, treo</i>	
		<i>lethu</i> (Bk. of Arm.)		
			<i>im</i> 'about'	<i>eter</i> 'between'
Sg. 1	<i>cuccum</i>	<i>immum</i>	<i>etrom, etrum</i>	
	2 <i>cucut, cuccut</i>	<i>immūt</i>		
	3 m. n. <i>cucci</i>	<i>imbi</i>	<i>etir, itir</i>	
	f. <i>cuicce, cucae</i>	<i>impe</i>		
Pl. 1	<i>cucum</i>	<i>immunn</i>	<i>etronn, etrunn</i>	
	2 <i>cucuiib, cucuiib</i>	<i>immib</i>	<i>etruib</i>	
	3 <i>cuccu</i>	<i>impu, impo</i>	<i>etarru, etarro</i>	
<i>amal</i> 'as':	sg. 1 <i>samlum</i> , 2 ( <i>samlut</i> ), 3 m. n. <i>samlid</i> , <i>samlith, samlaid</i> , pl. 3 <i>samlaiib</i>			
<i>cen</i> 'without':	sg. 2 <i>cenut</i> , 3 m. n. <i>cene, cenae</i> , pl. 2 <i>cenuib</i> , 3 <i>cenaib</i>			
<i>sech</i> 'past':	sg. 1 ( <i>sechum</i> ), 2 ( <i>sechut</i> ), 3 m. n. <i>sechae</i> f. ( <i>secce</i> ), pl. 3 <i>seccu</i>			
<i>tar, dar</i> 'over':	sg. 2 <i>torut</i> , 3 m. n. <i>tarais</i> , f. ( <i>tairse</i> ), pl. 1 <i>torunn</i> , 3 <i>tairsiu</i>			

The peculiar reduplication of the prep. *cucum*, *cucut*, &c., is possibly due to the analogy of *ocum*, *ocut*. &c (Thurn.).

## Prepositions with dative and accusative.

<b>90.</b> <i>i</i> 'in'			<i>for</i> 'on'	<i>ar</i> 'for'
Sg. 1	<i>indium(m)</i>	<i>form</i>	<i>airium, erum</i>	
	2 <i>indiut</i>	<i>fort</i>	<i>erut</i>	
	3 D. m. n. <i>and</i>			
	f. <i>indi</i>	<i>furi, furi</i>		
	A. m. n. <i>ind</i>	<i>foir, fair</i>	<i>airi</i>	
	f. <i>inte</i>	<i>forrae</i>		

Pl. 1	<i>indiunn</i>	<i>forun</i>	<i>erunn, eronn</i>
2	<i>indib</i>	<i>fuirib, foirib</i>	<i>airib, eruib</i>
3	<i>D. indib</i>	<i>foraib</i>	
	<i>A. intiu</i>	<i>forru</i>	<i>airriu, erru, erriu</i>
	<i>fo</i> 'under': sg. 3 <i>D.m.n. fóu, fo, A. fól, f. (foe), pl. 3 D. foib.</i>		

## 91.

## INTERROGATIVES.

Substantival forms:

Sg. N. m. and f. *cía*, n. *cid*; pl. N. *citné*; G. *coich*: *cía* and *cid* are followed by the relative form of the verb: e.g. *cía rannas* 'Who divides?', *cid asrubart* 'What has he said?', *is inderb coich in mug* 'it is uncertain whose slave he is,' *citné robatar* 'What were they?'

Adjectival forms:

Sg. m. *cía<sup>g</sup>*; f. *ce-st<sup>t</sup>*, *ci-st<sup>t</sup>*; n. *ced<sup>t</sup>*, *cid<sup>t</sup>*; pl. all genders *citné*: e.g. *cía gnám* 'What deed?', *cist chomairle* 'What advice?', *cía chenél* 'What kind?', *citné briathra* 'What words?': in certain stereotyped phrases *cía* (*ce*) is found for all genders, e.g. *cía-mméit*, *ce-méit* (f.) 'How great?': *cía indas*, *c'indas* 'In what manner? How?' *cía* is also found intensified by the addition of *dono* 'then.' The oblique cases are expressed by means of the prepositions, e.g. *cía du forcuinn* 'to what end?', *cía in olcaib* 'in what evils?', *cía du neuch* 'to whom?'

In conjunction with the copula m. *ce*, n. *cí*, e.g. *ce-bad*, *ce-ptar*, *ci-pad*, *ci-p*.

The forms *cote*, *catte*, pl. *coteet*, *cateet*, *cateat*, are found in the sense of 'in what consists'; e.g. *cate in fírinne* 'In what consists the righteousness?', *cateet diuitiae sund* 'What are *diuitiae* here?'

## 92.

## INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES.

The particle *in<sup>n</sup>* (*in* before *b*) is used to introduce a direct or indirect question, e.g. *in-duccatar* (*tuccatar*), *in-bem*: frequently an indirect question is introduced by



*dúis, dúis*, (i.e. *do fíus*) + *in* = 'to know whether,' e.g. *dúis in-comalnid, dúis in-intamlitis*. In a double question either the *in* is repeated or another particle *fa* (*ba, bá*) is used, e.g. *in-bem imbethu, in-bem imbáas* 'whether we be in life or in death,' *in duit féin fa do nach ailiu* 'whether it is for thyself or for some other person,' *in-dansóirfad fa-nacc* 'whether he would deliver me or not'; *fa* is really part of the copula. **Negative interrogatives:** *in-nád, in-ní* (rare), *in-ní-nád, caní* (*cini*) *caní* before pretonic *ro*; all expect an affirmative answer, e.g. *in-nád-n-accai* or *caní-accai* 'Doest thou not see?', *in-ní írr* 'Wilt thou not slay?', *in-ní nád-roilgisid* 'Have ye not read?', *caní-ro-noíbad* 'Has he not been sanctified?': the nazalisation of *in*<sup>n</sup> is carried over the negative *nád* in *nád-n-accai* as also happens at times after the copula, e.g. *in-dat m-briathra* 'Is it the words?' v. § 15.

## 93.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

*so* (*sa, se*) and *sin* are used as neuter accusatives after prepositions and the equative of adjs.: *demnithir so* 'as sure as this,' *demnithir sin*; *co-se* 'hitherto,' *cossin* 'so far': as D. *síu, šin*, e.g. *de-šiu* 'from here'; after comparative *máa sin* 'greater than that': *síu* without a prep. means 'here, in this world' as contrasted with *tall* 'yonder, in the other world': N. and A. for all genders, *inso* (*inse*), *insin*; *is hé inso, is st insin*.

The anaphoric pronoun *suide*.

N. only in the phrase *ol suide* 'quothe he,'; sg. D. m. n. *suidiu*, f. *suidi*; A. m. *suide*, n. *sodain*, f. *suidi*; pl. D. *suidib*, A. m. *suidiu*: enclitic forms, sg. N. m. *side, sede*; f. *side, ade, ede*. A. *sidi*; n. *side*; pl. *sidi, side, adi, ade*: examples, *do suidiu* 'to him,' *la suidi* 'with her,' *la sodain* 'therewith,' *móo suidiu* 'more than that'; enclitic *é-side, st-ade*, = 'he,' 'she,' emphatic, *a ires-sidi* 'his faith' (i.e. the faith of this particular person), *a díilde ade* 'her beauty,' *insamlathar-side* 'he imitates,' *amal dungniat sidi* 'as they do.'

## 94.

## SELF.

- 1 *féin, fadéin, céin, cadéin* *fesine, fanisin, canisin*  
 2 *féin, fadéin* *féisne, fésin, fadéisne,*  
*fadisin*  
 3 m. n. *fessin, féin, fadesin, fésine, féisne, fesin, fadeisne*  
*cesin, cadesin*  
 f. *fesine, féisne, fadisin fadesine, fadesin, cadesne,*  
*cadésin*

These forms are compounded of part of the copula (*fad-*, *f-*) or *cia*, *cid* 'though' (reduced to *cad*, *c-*) + a pers. pron. 3rd sg. m. f. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd pl. + a demonstrative (v. Pedersen V. G. 153). The clearest forms etymologically are 3rd sg. m. n. *fadesin* < \**fad-é-sin* or \**fad-ed-sin*, *fessin* < \**fa-é-sin* or \**fa ed-sin*, *cadesin* < \**cid-é-sin*; f. *fadisin* < \**fad-i-sin*; pl. 1. *fanisin, canisin* < \**fa-ní-sin*, \**ca-ní-sin* 2. *fadisin* < \**fad-si-sin* but following analogy of 3rd sg. f.; 3. *fadesin, cadesin* < \**fad-é-sin*, \**cid-e-sin*. In the sing. the forms for the 1st and 2nd pers. were originally 3rd m. n.

Examples: *mé féin* 'myself,' *mo saithar féin* 'my own work,' *nu menma céin* 'my own mind'; *tú féin* 'thyself,' *deit féin* 'to thyself,' *hésom fesin* 'himself,' *a chorp fadesin* 'his own body'; *húadi fadisin* 'from herself'; *duun chanisin* 'to ourselves,' *frinn fanisin* or *fesine* 'against ourselves'; *daberid-si féisne* 'ye yourselves give it'; *a fili fésine* 'their own poet.'

## 95.

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

**nech** < \**ne-k<sup>u</sup>os*, N.A. *nech*, n. *ní*, G. *neich*, D. *neuch*, *neoch*, n. *níu*, *neo* (Ml.) 'anyone, anything,' in origin a negative: e.g. *ní-fel nech* 'there is no one,' *doergairi neich* 'for the forbidding of anything'; followed by a relative sentence, *do neuch as doraid* 'concerning whatever is difficult.'

The proclitic forms N. *nach*, n. *na<sup>g</sup>*, G.m. *naich*, f. *nacha*, A. m.f. *nach<sup>n</sup>*, n. *na<sup>g</sup>*. are used adjectivally; e.g. *nach noib* 'some saint,' *naich baill* 'of some member,' *naach rainne* 'of some part (f.)'; before a relative sentence

*ní* frequently becomes *aní* or *na-ní*, e.g. *aní as mane*, *na-ní-téte* 'whatever it comes to'; the pl. *nacha* is only used in negative sentences, e.g. *nábad nacha arm aili* 'let it not be any other arms'; for positive *alaili* is used *nechtar* = 'one (of two)', *nechtar n-ái* 'either of them.'

**cách** < \**k<sup>u</sup>āk<sup>u</sup>*os N. D. A. *cách*, G. *cáich*, 'everyone'; before a relative verb with the art. e.g. *in cách forsamitter* 'everyone on whom thou passest judgment,' *in cháich cretes* 'of everyone who believes.' Proclitic adjectival forms *cach*, *cech*, G.f. *cacha*, *cecha*, n. *caich*; pl. *cacha*, *cecha*, *cach*, *cech*, e.g. *cach ball* 'every member,' *cecha dethidnea* 'all cares,' *hi cacha persanaib* 'in all persons'; distributively with the numerals, *cach oin* 'each one,' *cach dá* 'every two,' &c.; with G. of 3rd pers. of pron. *cach áe* 'each of them.' *cechtar* = 'each (of two),' e.g. *cechtar in dá rann* 'each of the two parts,' *cechtar n-ái* 'each of them (two).'

**aile** < \**alios*, N.A. sg. n. *aill*, is used substantively after the art. or *nach*: e.g. m. *int aile*, f. *ind aile*, n. *a n-aill* 'the other'; *nach aile* 'some other': the indefinite subst. form is m.f. *alaile*, n. *alaill*, uncontracted G. sg. f. *ala aile*, G. pl. *ala n-aile*, N. pl. in S.G. *ala-aili*:

N.B.—*alaile* with a noun = 'certain, some,' but also 'another,' e.g. *di-alailiu dílgud* 'of another forgiveness'; *alaili—alaili* = 'some—others,' *ind ala—alaile* 'the one—the other.'

## 96.

## ADVERBS OF PLACE.

<i>sund</i>	'here'	<i>il-lei, il-le,</i>	'hither'
<i>tall</i>	'on that side'	<i>inn-onn</i>	'to that side'
<i>túas</i>	'above'	<i>súas</i>	'upwards'
<i>tís</i>	'below'	<i>sís</i>	'downwards'
<i>tair</i>	'east'	<i>sair</i>	'eastwards'
<i>tíar</i>	'west'	<i>síar</i>	'westwards'
<i>tess</i>	'south'	<i>sa-dess</i> }	'southwards'
		<i>fa-des</i> }	
<i>túaid</i>	'north'	<i>sa-thúaid</i> }	'northwards'
		<i>fa-thúaidh</i> }	

Adverbs of Place—*continued*.

<i>de-slu</i>	'hence.'
<i>an-all</i>	'from that side.'
<i>an-uas</i>	'from above.'
<i>an-is</i>	'from below.'
<i>an-air</i>	'from the east.'
<i>an-iar</i>	'from the west.'
<i>an-dess</i>	'from the south.'
<i>an-túaid</i>	'from the north.'

*tess* is formed after the analogy of *túaid*; *sechtair* = 'out of,' *an-echtair* 'from outside.'

## 97.

## RELATIVE SENTENCES.

The relative is expressed in the following ways:

(a) by means of the demonstrative *sa<sup>n</sup>*, *a<sup>n</sup>* (*sam*, *am* before a labial) after a preposition; *sa<sup>n</sup>* stands for all genders, cases, and numbers; e.g. *ar-an-déntar* 'for which is made,' *fu-an-d-ro-gab* 'in (lit. 'under') which he has uttered it,' *tre-san-íccatar* 'through which are saved'; it is not employed after *in<sup>n</sup>* or after a negative, e.g. *in-atreba* 'in which he dwells,' *di-na-conbi* 'of which he has not'; *sa<sup>n</sup>* (*sam*), *an* (*am*) changes to *sin*, *sim* (*in*, *im*) before the *d* of the infixed pronoun and the 3rd sg. *-d* and *-b* (*-p*) of the copula except in *dian*-, *foan*-, *óan*-, e.g. *ar-in-d-epur* 'for which I say it,' *tre-sin-da-bia* 'through which they shall have' *ar-im-p* 'ut sit.'

(b) by the relative forms of the verb which are found in 3rd sg. and 1st and 3rd pl. of simple verbs in the absolute flexion, e.g. *beres* 'who bears,' *beirne* 'which we bear,' *berte* 'who bear.' In the pass. and dep. the conjunct forms are used as relatives.

(c) by prefixing *no* to the 1st and 2nd sg. and 2nd pl. of the pres. ind., pres. subj. and fut. of simple verbs, e.g. *no-guidimm* 'what I pray,' *no-thechti* 'which thou possessest,' *no-berid* 'which ye carry.'

(d) by infixing a relative element which appears as *-e'*,

*a'*, or merely lenition, e.g., *imm-e-churetar* 'who carry,' *ar-a-thá* 'which is left,' *no-chairigur* 'what I blame,' *ad-chess* 'what was seen.'

## 98. LENITING RELATIVE SENTENCES.

(a) In ML. and S.G. the anlaut of relative forms is lenited, e.g. *intí charas* 'he who loves,' *anl chanas* 'what he sings.'

(b) The absolute forms of the copula lenite the following anlaut, e.g. *as chotarsne* 'which is contrary,' *ata chosmaili* 'which are similar,' *bes chobuir* 'which will be an aid.'

## 99. NASALIZING RELATIVE SENTENCES.

(a) When the relative denotes **time when**, e.g. *in tan mberes* 'when she bears,' *hóre no-n-dob-molor-sa* 'because I praise you' (*hóre* G. of *uar* 'hour' was originally temporal); similarly after *céin*, *céne* 'as long as,' *a<sup>n</sup>* 'while.'

(b) When the relative denotes **quantity** or **manner**, e.g. *is í méit do-n-indnagar* 'that is the proportion in which it is bestowed,' *indas no-m-bied-si* 'the way in which you are'; similarly after *amal* and *feib* 'like, as,' and in the case of the 'figura etymologica,' e.g. *ní légend ro-I-légusa act is cúrsagad ro-n-d-cúrsagusa* 'it is not a reading I have read but a reprimand (with) which I have reprimanded him,' *a forcital for-n-dob-canar* 'the teaching by which ye are taught.'

(c) Sometimes instead of lenition when the relative is the object of the verb in the relative clause, e.g. *cech irnigde do-n-gneid* 'every prayer that ye make.'

(d) When the relative represents the predicate noun, e.g. *co-mbi oín-chorp pectho as-m-berar* 'so that it is one body of sin it is called,' *plebs dei as-n-dan-berthe ní* 'we used to be called *plebs Dei*.'

(e) After *ol*, e.g. *ol-daas < \*ol-n-taas*.

(f) sometimes to denote **reason why**: e.g. *is hed dathar dom* (*d*=nasalized *t*) 'that is why people are angry with me.'



(g) **explanatory** and to mark **oratio obliqua**: e.g. *bad nertad dúib inso, as-n-éirsid* 'let this be an encouragement to you, that ye will rise,' *bés asbera-su as n-ainm dosom* 'perchance thou wouldst say that *animus* is its name.'

(h) the relative forms of simple verbs (except the copula) have nasalized anlaut usually in Wb. and regularly later; e.g. in *tain m-bís* 'when he is,' *hóre déte* (*d = nt*) 'because he goes.'

(i) the absolute forms of the copula used relatively nasalize the following anlaut when it begins a syllable which bears the principal accent; e.g. *céin bas m-beo* 'so long as he is alive.'

## 100. THE GENITIVE OF THE RELATIVE.

The genitive of the relative is expressed :

(a) by a formally non-relative sentence containing a genitive pronoun, i.e. a possessive pronoun; e.g. *réte ní réid a mbrith*, lit. 'things not easy their referring' = 'things whose reference is not easy'; *biit alaili rofinnatar a pecthe*, lit. 'there are some their sins are found out' = 'whose sins are found out.'

(b) by a relative sentence introduced by *as* 'which is,' a relative preverb, the negative *na*, *nad*, or relative nasalization; e.g. *intí as hénirt híress* 'he (his) faith is weak' = 'whose faith is weak'; *lasna cumachtgu foambait nám* 'to the mighty ones under whose yoke they are:' *biad nad-ráncatar less* 'food that they did not stand in need = of which they did not stand in need.'

## 101. THE NEGATIVES.

*ní<sup>g</sup>*, *nícon*; before the imperative and optative *ná<sup>g</sup>*, *na<sup>g</sup>*; before infixed pronouns *nach*, *nách*; in relative sentences and after interrogative *in<sup>n</sup>*, *nád*, *nad*; *sech ní—ní* or *ní—ocus nach* = 'neither—nor.' Examples: *ní dénim* 'I do not,' *nicon-choscram* 'we destroy not' (in later O. Ir. it nasalizes, e.g. *nicon-dét* = *-ntét*), *na-déne* 'do not'! *nach-in-rogba úall* 'may pride not seize us'! *nahí-nad-chrenat*



'those who buy not,' *in-nad-cúalaid si* 'have ye not heard?' *sech ní-thartsat som, ní-comtcachtmar ní* 'neither have they given nor have we asked,' *ní ind fessin eirbthi* *ḡnach dó du-aisilbi nanní do-ḡní* 'it is not in himself that he trusts, neither does he ascribe to himself the things which he does.'

The independent negative is *naicc, nacc* = 'no, not'; *in-fa nacc* 'is — or not': emphatic *nacce* 'by no means,' adjectival or composition form in *nacca dim* 'a non-entity' *ML. 75 b 20*; *nade, nate* < *nad + hé* = 'no' in answer to either a positive or negative question (the form *natho* is acc. to Pedersen borrowed from *W. naddo* used in reference to a preterite tense), a later form is *ate*; *tacco, taccu* = 'no' as either simple denial or strong contradictory, cf. German *dock*, French *si*.

## 102.

## TEMPORAL PREVERBS.

**ro, com, ad, od, ess, to-od-, de-ess-, to-com-.**

A perfective meaning for indicative or subjunctive verbal forms is expressed by means of certain preverbs of which *ro* is the most usual.

(a) the **preterite** with perfective preverb has the meaning of a **perfect** or **pluperfect**; e.g. *as-bert* 'he said,' *as-ru-bart* 'he has said'; *argart dóib nant maith con-ro-itatar a-rríg* 'he taunted them that they had not guarded their king well.'

(b) the **present indicative** with preverb, in a dependent clause, becomes a **perfect consuetudinal present**, i.e. denotes what precedes a customary action; e.g. *in níall do-n-ḡníat ho ru-maith for a náimteá remib* 'the cry they make when their enemies have been routed by them.'

(c) in a dependent clause the **imperfect indicative** with preverb becomes a **perfect consuetudinal preterite** when the verb of the main clause is an iterative past, i.e. denotes the completion of a repeated action in the past.

(d) the **future** with the preverb becomes a **futurum exactum**, i.e. denotes an action that is imagined as having

taken place at some future time : e.g. *maní roíma for a cenn, ní mema forsna bullu* 'if their head be not defeated, the members will not be defeated'; (Thurn. however, takes *roíma* = *romá*, subj.) similarly with pres. subj. used as future, *dia-n-áe-r-balam ní, ní-bia nech* 'if we should die, there will be no one.'

(e) the **imperfect subjunctive** with preverb = **future perfect**; e.g. *act ar-roí-lgither ind epistil so díúbsi* 'as soon as this epistle shall have been read to you.'

### 103. ro of possibility.

(a) **present**: *as-beir* 'he says,' *as-ro-bair* 'he can say,' *ní ru-bai* 'it cannot be.'

(b) **future**: *ní de-r-genat* 'they will not be able to do it.'

(c) **conditional**: *d-a-ri-gente* 'ye could have done it.'

(d) **pres. subj.**: *cia ru-bé* 'though it could be.'

(e) **imp. subj.**: *frinti do-ro-nad nach aile* 'at a thing which any other could do.'

### 104. Further uses of ro.

(a) **in wishes**: *ro-p córae dóib* 'may there be peace to them.'

(b) **in commands**: only in negative sentences: *ní to-r-gaítha* 'let him not defraud!' *ní-m de-r-saige* 'wake me not.'

(c) **intention**: *arna de-r-lind* 'lest I should scandalize.'

(d) **necessity**: *is écen con-dá-r-bastar* 'it is necessary that it should be shown.'

(e) **permissive**: after *acht* 'provided that'; e.g. *act rop* 'provided that it be,' *act ní ro-bat* 'provided there be not.'

### 105. Position of ro.

(a) **fixed ro**: as a rule this **ro** comes immediately before the verbal stem after the other prepositions e.g. *as-ru-bart, ní-érbart* < \**es-ro-bert*.

(b) **movable ro**: comes immediately after the last pretonic preverb; e.g. *im·rui-d-bed* < \**im-ro-di-bed*, *ni-ro-im-di-bed*, *in·r-ua-ldatar* < \**in-ro-od-lodatar*, *nad-r-ind-ua-ldatar*: it is placed after the prep. *fo*, when *fo* is the second part of a compound, to avoid the contraction *ro·fo* > *ró*; e.g. *im·fo-r-laing*: **ro** or an infixed pron. + **ro** is inserted in the prep. *for* as though *for* = *fo* + *r*; e.g. *fo-rro-r-bris* (*rr* = *nr*), *fo-da* + *ro-r-cenn* *for·cenna*.

106. Preverbs which usurp the functions of **ro**.

**com**: e.g. with pres. subj. *fris·chom-arr* from *fris-oing*; with preterite *as·com-ort* (*as-oing*).

**ad**: with verbs compounded of *com*, e.g. *con·atil* < \**con-ad-til* (*com-tuil*) *con·acab* < \**con-ad-gab* (*com-gab*).

**od**: *con·oi-t-echtatar* < \**con-od-t-* (*con-dieig*).

**ess**: *ass-ib-sem* (*ibid*).

**de-od**: *do-o-mmalgg* < \**do-od-m* (*mleg-*), *t-o-pacht* < \**to-od-bacht* (*bong-*).

**de-ess**: *dessid* < \**de-ess-sid* (*sad-*).

**to-com**: *du-cu-tig* < \**to-com-tig* (*tong-*).

107. Verbs which do not admit perfective preverbs.

1. verbs compounded with **ro**, e.g. *rofitir*, *rocluinethar* *rolaimethar*.

2. compounds from the roots *gne*, *icc* (*-ong-*).

3. the prototonic forms of *ad·cí*, and the perfect *ad·con-dairc*.

4. *ithid*, *tella*, *talla*, *duthracht*, *at·bath*, *fo·fuair*.

## VII.—THE VERB.

108. The verb has two Voices—Active and Passive, and an Active verb may have either an active or deponent flexion. The latter has arisen from the Id.G. Middle and differs from the passive flexion in form; in the imperfect indicative, preterite subjunctive, preterite future or conditional, the 1st sg. pres. ind. abs. of denominatives in *-igithir*, *igidir*, the 2nd pl. of all tenses and moods, and the 3rd sg. imperative the deponent forms are the same as those of the active.

There are three moods: indicative, imperative, and subjunctive. The indicative mood has five tenses: present, imperfect, preterite, future, and preterite future (also called secondary future or conditional). The subjunctive mood has only two tenses, present and preterite; the imperative mood has no tenses.

### 109. TENSE-STEMS.

The tenses and moods of a normal verb are formed from five distinct stems.

1. **Present Stem** { Indicative present and imperfect.  
Imperative.
2. **Subjunctive Stem** { Subjunctive present and  
preterite.
3. **Future Stem** { Future and future preterite.

These three stems belong to both active (or deponent) and passive flexions.

4. **Active Preterite Stem** { Preterite Indicative active  
and deponent.
5. **Passive Preterite Stem** { Preterite Indicative  
passive.

### 110. STRONG AND WEAK VERBS.

Verbs are divided, in accordance with their mode of stem-formation, into two classes, Strong and Weak. Strong verbs are primary, weak verbs denominative; the chief characteristics of the latter being the formation of an s-preterite and an f-future.

The weak verbs are divided into *a*-verbs and *i*-verbs according to the termination of the 3rd sg. pres. ind. act. conjunct flexion, e.g. ·cara, ·léici. In the case of the strong verbs there is no termination, e.g. ·beir, ·ben.

### 111. NUMBER AND PERSON.

The verb has only two numbers sing. and plur. (a dual subject takes a plural verb, so also may a sing. collective

noun). In the active and deponent there are three persons in each number, in the passive there are only forms for 3rd sing. and 3rd plur.

## 112.

## RELATIVE FORMS.

01 In the simple verb in the absolute flexion separate relative forms occur in the 3rd sing. and plur. and usually in the 1st plur.

## 113.

## PERSONAL ENDINGS.

The personal endings may be divided into five classes :—

1. Pres. ind. and subj., future, *s*-preterite, the plur. of act. and dep. and imp. pass., the sing. of the *t*-preterite.
2. Imp. sing. act. and dep.
3. Imperf. ind., pret. subj., pret. future.
4. Suffix-less pret. ind. and plur. of *t*-preterite.
5. Pret. ind. pass.

## 114.

## ABSOLUTE AND CONJUNCT FLEXION.

In most tenses and moods the personal endings have two sets of forms called 'absolute' and 'conjunct.'

**The conjunct flexion** occurs :—

1. In all verbs compounded with prepositions.
2. In the simple verb (*a*) after the verbal particles *ro* and *no*, (*b*) after the following particles and conjunctions, *ní*, *nicon*, *ná*, *nád*, (*nach*-) *nacon*, *in*, *ara<sup>n</sup>*, *dia<sup>n</sup>*, *co<sup>n</sup>*, *con<sup>n</sup>*, *hua<sup>n</sup>*, a particle and relative (*s*)*a<sup>n</sup>*.

**Absolute flexion** occurs in the simple verb with the exception of the cases above mentioned, e.g. abs. *berid*, *gaibid*, *marbaid*, *léicid*; conj. *do-beir*, *fo-gaib*, *ní-s-marba*, *ara-léici*.

The absolute and conjunct flexions correspond to the Primary and Secondary personal endings of Id.G. Some verbs which always take a preposition before them when no conjunct or verbal particle is prefixed appear only in the conjunct flexion, except in the imperative where the accent falls on the first syllable and the preposition is dropped, e.g., *ro-cluinethar*, *ro-fitir*, 3rd sg. imp. *cluined*, *finnad*.



Weak verbs are denoted by A, strong verbs by B.

A I. **a**-presents: present stem = verb stem +  $\bar{a}$ ; e.g. *caraid* < \**kar-ā-ti*, *caru* < \**kar-ā-iō*.

A II. **i**-presents: present stem = verb stem +  $\bar{i}$ ; e.g. *léicid* < \**liok<sup>u</sup>-ī-ti*, *léiciu* < \**liok<sup>u</sup>-i-iō*.

A III. stems ending in a vowel, e.g. *gniu* < \**gnē-iō*.

B I. present stem = verb stem + thematic vowel  $-o-$ ,  $-e-$  (v. § 116) with consequent variations of quality in the final consonant of the stem; e.g. *berat* ( $\gamma^a$ ) < \**bher-o-nt*, but *berid* ( $\gamma^i$ ) < \**bher-e-ti*.

B II. present stem = verb stem (with nasal infix) + thematic vowel: e.g. *bo-n-g-id* 'breaks' ( $\sqrt{bog}$ ), *to-n-g-id* 'swears', cf. Lat. *pa-n-go*, *ta-n-go* ( $\sqrt{pag}$ , *tag*).

B III. present stem = verb stem +  $\bar{i}$ -suffix; e.g. *gaibid* 'takes' < \**ghabh-īe-ti*, cf. Lat. *cap-io*.

B IV. present stem = verb stem +  $\bar{nā}$  ( $\bar{nā}$ ); e.g. *benaid* 'strikes' < \**bhin-ā-ti*, *renaid* 'buys' < \**pre-nā-ti* cf. Gk.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\iota$ . In Proto-Keltic  $\bar{nā}$  had become shortened to  $\bar{nā}$  after the analogy of the plural *be-nā-mesi*, &c.

B V. as in IV. but originally with  $i$  quality of the  $n$  which frequently remains; e.g. *ara-chrin* 'perishes'; in *ad-gnin* 'recognizes' and *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' the  $i$ -quality of the  $n$  is probably the result of infection before a  $\bar{iō}$ -suffix; thus \**gn-n-i* > *gnin*, \**clu-n-i* > *cluín*, cf. Gk.  $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  < \**pha-v-iō*.

In Id.G. there were two modes of flexion, viz. **thematic** and **non-thematic**. Verbs with thematic flexion had in the indicative  $-o-$  or  $-e-$  before the personal ending, e.g. \**bher-ō*, \**bher-e-si*, \**bher-e-ti*, \**bher-o-mos*, \**bher-e-te*, \**bher-on-ti*: those with non-thematic flexion had no thematic vowel before the personal ending in the indicative, e.g. \**es-mi*, \**es-si*, \**es-ti*.



## 117. PERSONAL ENDINGS.

Id.G. had two series of personal endings, viz. **primary** and **secondary**.

	Sing.		Plur.	
	Prim.	Sec.	Prim.	Sec.
1.	{ -mi -ō	-m	-mes, -mos -mesi, -mosi	-me, -mo -mem, -mom.
2.	-si	-s	-the	-te
3.	-ti	-t	-nti	-nt

In O. Ir. the primary endings were doubtless originally employed only in the absolute flexion and the secondary endings in the conjunct, but owing to analogy the primary endings are frequently found in the conjunct flexion also, e.g., *rethi* < \**ret-e-si*, 'thou runnest' beside *·bir* < \**bher-e-s* 'thou bearest.'

Ending of **1st pers. sing.**: -*im*, -*imm* (-*aim*, -*aimm*) corresponds to the non-thematic primary ending -*mi*, the *i* arising from the palatal quality of the *m*; that the *m* should have remained unlenited is probably due to the influence of the 1st sing. of the copula *am* < \**es-mi* (Thurn.): the thematic ending -*ō* appears as -*o*, -*u*, e.g. *arco*, *tiagu* < \**prk-ō*, \**steigh-ō*; it appears as -*u* regularly in the 1st sg. conjunct of monosyllabic stems in *i*, e.g. *·būu*, *·gnūu*, otherwise it appears merely as *u*-quality of the final consonant of the stem in conj. 1st sg., e.g. *·biur* < \**berū* < \**bher-ō*, *·cun* < \**canū* < \**can-ō*. The ending -*im* gradually ousts the -*ō*-ending until in the Modern language it is universal.

Ending of **2nd pers. sing.**: the -*i* is reduced from the thematic primary ending -*e*, + *si* whence it spread analogically to the other verbs: thus *beri* < \**berī* < \**bherei* < \**bher-e-si*. In the conjunct form the secondary ending disappears, e.g. *·bir* < \**bher-e-s*.

Ending of **3rd pers. sing.**: -*id*, -*ith* (-*aid*, -*aith*) represents the thematic primary ending -*e*, -*i*, -*a*, + *ti*; e.g. *berid* < \**bher-e-ti*, *léicid* < \**link<sup>u</sup>-ī-ti*, *caraid* < \**kar-ā-ti*: the secondary ending is represented by the conjunct forms *·cara*, *·léici*, *·beir* < \**kar-ā-t*, \**link<sup>u</sup>-ī-t*, \**bher-e-t*.

*mi < o-m + ni (pau)*

Ending of **1st pers. plur.** : absolute *-mi* represents Id. G. *-mesi* > *mei* > *mi*, the *m* unlenited through analogy of the 1st pers. pl. of copula *ammi* < \**es-mesi* : the conjunct ending *-m* (*m<sup>a</sup>*) represents *-mos*, e.g. *beram* < \**bher-o-mos* ; this *-m* was originally lenited but gradually loses its lenition through the influence of the absolute *-mmi*.

Ending of **2nd pers. plur.** : absolute *-the* is either Id. G. dual ending \**-thes* or a new formation analogous to 1st pl. *-mi*. *-me* ; conjunct *-id* comes from the thematic vowel + Id. G. secondary ending *-te* thus *berid* < \*(*e*)-*bher-e-te*.

Ending of **3rd pers. plur.** : absolute *-it*, *-ait* represents thematic vowel + primary ending *-nti*, e.g. *carait* < \**kar-ā-nti*, *léicit* < \**liph<sup>u</sup>-i-nti* ; conjunct *-et*, *-at*, (older *-ot*) = thematic vowel + secondary ending *-nt*, e.g. *lécet* < \**liph<sup>u</sup>-i-nt*, *berat* < \**berot* < \**bher-o-nt*.

The relative forms for 3rd sing. and pl. and 1st pl. are probably verbal forms + suffixed pronouns.

N.B.—For a different explanation of the personal endings v. Pedersen V. G. 341—344.

## 118. Paradigm of Present Indicative.

### Active.

Examples : *caraim* 'I love', *léicim* 'I leave' *biru* 'I bear.'

absolute flexion.

	A I.	A II.
Sq. 1	<i>caraim</i>	<i>léicim</i>
2	<i>carai</i>	<i>léici</i>
3	<i>caraid</i> , <i>-aith</i>	<i>léicid</i> , <i>-ith</i>
rel.	<i>caras</i>	<i>léices</i>
Pl. 1	<i>carmai</i>	<i>léicmi</i>
rel.	<i>carmae</i>	<i>léicme</i>
2	<i>carthae</i>	<i>léicthe</i>
3	<i>carait</i>	<i>léicit</i>
rel. {	<i>cardae</i> , <i>-tae</i> .	<i>fléicde</i> , <i>-te</i> ,
	<i>caraitae</i> , <i>-ate</i>	<i>léicite</i>

		conjunct flexion
Sg	1 <i>·caru</i>	<i>·léiciu</i> ( <i>·léicim</i> )
	2 <i>·carai</i>	<i>·léici</i>
	3 <i>·cara</i>	<i>·léici</i>
Pl	1 <i>·caram</i>	<i>·léicem</i>
	2 <i>·caraid -aith</i>	<i>·léicid, ith</i>
	3 <i>·carat</i>	<i>·léicet</i>

	absolute	B I. conjunct	
		accented	enclitic
Sg.	1 <i>biru</i>	<i>·biur</i>	<i>·ta-bur</i>
	2 <i>beir, (beri)</i>	<i>·bir</i>	<i>·ta-b<sup>a</sup>ir</i>
	3 <i>berid, -ith</i>	<i>·beir</i>	<i>·ta-b<sup>a</sup>ir</i>
	rel. <i>beres</i>		
Pl.	1 <i>bermai</i>	<i>·beram</i>	<i>·tai-brem</i>
	rel. <i>bermae</i>		
	2 <i>berthe</i>	<i>·berid, -ith</i>	<i>·tai-brid, -ith</i>
	3 <i>berait</i>	<i>·berat</i>	<i>·tai-bret</i>
	rel. <i>berdae, -tae</i>		

The distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion is not invariably observed: thus, in weak verbs, 1st and 2nd sg. abs. are used also for conj.; further in strong verbs abs. forms like *for·canim*, *·rethi* are found used as conjunct beside regular forms like *for·cun*, *·bir*. The relative ending of the 1st pl. *-me* is found regularly only in Wb., in Ml. the ordinary ending *-mi* begins to replace it. The unsyncopated form of the rel. 3rd pl. in *-ite* is due to the influence of the non-relative form in *-it*, e.g. *techtaite* beside *techte* < \**techt-de*.

### 119. DEPONENT PERSONAL ENDINGS.

**1st pers. sing.** : *-ur*, *-or* both < \**ōr* (but v. § 108), explanation uncertain, cf. Lat. *sequ-or*.

**2nd pers. sing.** : *-ther*, *-der*, probably *-the + r*.

**3rd pers. sing.** : absolute *-thir*, *-dir*, conjunct *-thar*, *-dar*; the vowel before this ending is never dropped, consequently the original ending was *-tr<sup>i</sup>*, *-tr<sup>a</sup>*, cf. Lat. *sequi-tur*.

**1st pers. plur.** : abs. *-mir*, conj. *-mar*, *-mer* (archaic *-mor*), with unlenited *m* cf. Lat. *sequi-mur*.

**2nd pers. plur.** : as in Lat. a special deponent ending is lacking; the ending of the 2nd pers. plur. act. is used instead.

**3rd pers. plur.** : abs. *-tir*, conj. *-tar* < \**-ntr<sup>i</sup>*, *-ntr<sup>a</sup>*, cf. Lat. *sequi-ntur*.

## 120.

## Deponent.

Examples : *labrur* 'I speak,' *cuiriur* 'I place.'

	A I.		A II.	
	abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.
Sg. 1	<i>labrur</i>	<i>·labrur</i>	<i>cuiriur</i>	<i>·cuiriur</i>
2	<i>labrither</i>	<i>·labrither</i>	<i>cuirther</i>	<i>·cuirther</i>
3	<i>labrithir</i>	<i>·labrathar</i>	<i>cuirithir</i>	<i>·cuirethar</i>
Pl. 1	<i>labrimmir</i>	<i>·labrammar</i>	<i>cuirimmir</i>	<i>·cuiremmar</i>
2	<i>labrithe</i>	<i>·labraid</i>	<i>cuirthe</i>	<i>·cuirid</i>
3	<i>labritir</i>	<i>·labratar</i>	<i>cuiritir</i>	<i>·cuiretar</i>

## 121.

## PASSIVE PERSONAL ENDINGS.

In the passive there are special forms only for 3rd pers. sing. or plur. : Sg. abs. *-ir*, *-thir*, conj. *-ar*, *-thar*, *-ther*; Pl. abs. *-tir*, conj. *-tar*, *-ter*. *-ir*, *-ar* arises from *-r*; *-thir* from *-tir*; *-tu*, *-tar* from *-nti-r*, *-nto-r*; cf. Lat. *agi-tur*, *agu-ntur*.

## 122.

## Passive.

	A I.	A II.	
		absolute.	
		act.	des.
Sg. 3	<i>carthair</i>	<i>léicthir</i>	<i>cuirthir</i>
Pl. 3	<i>cartair</i>	<i>léicter</i>	<i>cuirtir</i>
		conjunct.	
Sg. 3	<i>·carthar</i>	<i>·léicther</i>	<i>·cuirther</i>
Pl. 3	<i>·cartar</i>	<i>·léicetar (léicter)</i>	<i>·cuirter</i>
		B I. AND II.	
		absolute	conjunct
Sg. 3	<i>berair</i>	<i>·berar (·berr)</i>	
Pl. 3	<i>bertair</i>	<i>·bertar</i>	

The remaining persons of the passive are expressed by infixed pronouns with the 3rd sg.; e.g., *no-m-charthar*, 'I am loved,' *no-t-berar*, 'thou art borne,' *no-n-léicther*, 'we are left.'

The **relative** forms of the deponent and passive are those of the conjunct, except in the 1st and 2nd sg., and 2nd pl. deponent, which take in addition the preverb **no-**.

### 123. Imperfect Indicative.

No satisfactory explanation of the personal endings is forthcoming: only conjunct forms are found, since the imperfect always takes the preverb **no** before it.

	A I.	A II.	BI. & II.
Sg. 1.	<i>no-carainn</i>	<i>no léicinn</i>	<i>no-berinn</i>
2.	<i>no-cartha</i>	<i>no-léicthea</i>	<i>(no-bertha)</i>
3.	<i>no-carad</i>	<i>no-léiced</i>	<i>nobered (.berad)</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>no-carmais</i>	<i>no-leicmis</i>	<i>no-bermis</i>
2.	<i>no-carthae</i>	<i>no-léicthe</i>	<i>(no-berthe)</i>
3.	<i>no-cartais</i>	<i>no-léictis</i>	<i>no-bertis (beirtis)</i>

Deponents inflect like active verbs. The passive forms are:—

Sg.	<i>no-carthae</i>	<i>no-léicthe</i>	<i>no-berthe</i>
Pl.	<i>no-cartais</i>	<i>no-léictis</i>	<i>no-bertis (.beirtis)</i>

### 124. IMPERATIVE.

Personal endings.

**2nd pers. sing.**: the 2nd sg. imper. act. comes from a form consisting of the verb stem + a vowel, and had originally no personal ending; e.g., *car* < \**kar-ā*, *léic* < \**linh<sup>u</sup>-ī*, *beir*, < \**bher-e*, cf. Lat. *am-a*, *aud-i*, *ag-e*: the *-the*, *-te* of deponents is an old Middle ending *-\*thēs*.

**3rd pers. sing.**: ending = *-to*; e.g., *bered* < \**bhere-to*, *carad* < \**karā-to*, *léiced* < \**linh<sup>u</sup>-ī-to*. The persons of the plur. are the same as in the conjunct flexion of the present indicative.

There is no distinction between absolute and conjunct; the principal accent always falls on the first syllable except when the form contains an infixed pronoun.

Deponents have active flexion in the 1st pers. plur., but in later MSS. dep. flexion. The verb *tiagu* 'I go' has a form for the 1st pers. sing., viz., *tiag, tiach* 'let me go.' Some verbs retain a vocalic ending in the 2nd pers. sing.: e.g., *déne* 'do' from *do·gnú*, *déicce* 'see' from *do·cú* (*ac·cú*) and in dep. the act. form *cuire* beside *cuirthe*

## 125.

## Active.

A I.	A II	B I. & II.
Sg. 2 <i>car</i>	<i>léic</i>	<i>beir</i>
3 <i>carad, -ath</i>	<i>léiced, -eth</i>	<i>berad, -ed</i>
Pl. 1 <i>caram</i>	<i>léicem</i>	<i>beram</i>
2 <i>caraid, -aith</i>	<i>léicid, -ith</i>	<i>berid, -ith</i>
3 <i>carat</i>	<i>léicet</i>	<i>berat</i>

## Deponent.

Examples: *·comalnadar* 'fulfils'; *cuirithir* 'places'; *ro·cluinehtar* 'hears.'

A I.	A II.	B V.
Sg. 2 <i>comalnaithe, -de</i>	<i>cuirthe</i>	<i>cluinte</i>
3 <i>comalnad, -ath</i>	<i>cuired</i>	<i>cluined</i>
Pl. 1 ( <i>comalnam, -amar</i> )	( <i>cuirem</i> )	( <i>cluinem, -emmar</i> )
2 <i>comalnaid, -aith</i>	<i>cuirid</i>	<i>cluimid, -ith</i>
3 <i>comalnatar</i>	<i>cuiretar</i>	<i>cluinetar</i>

## Passive.

A I.	A II.	B I.
Sg. <i>carthar</i>	<i>cuirther</i>	<i>berar (·berr)</i>
Pl. <i>cartar</i>	<i>cuirter</i>	<i>bertar</i>

Verbs B III. inflect in the abs. like A II. but in the conj. 3rd sg. pres. act. the forms have no final vowel; contrast *·gaib* with *·léici*.

## 126.

## THE SUBJUNCTIVE STEM.

The subjunctive stem has two forms, viz. the **a=subjunctive** and **s=subjunctive**.



The *a*-subjunctive is formed by adding *-ā* to the root, thus *√car - carā*; accordingly the subj. stem and pres. stem are identical in verbs A I; the thematic vowels *-o-*, *-e-* (B I.) and *nā-* (B IV.) are dropped; the *-i-* of A II. is also lost but causes the final consonant of the root to retain an *i*-quality, hence the subj. endings become *-ea*, *-e* instead of *-a*, *-ā*: in B III. the final consonant of the root loses its palatal quality, e.g. pres. stem *gaib-* - subj. *gab-*.

The *s*-subjunctive is confined to strong verbs whose root or verb stem ends in dental or guttural stops and spirants or in *m*; e.g. *fed-*, *fess-*; *reth-*, *ress-*; *dlig-*, *dlëss-*; *ic-*, *išs-*; *senn-*, *sëss-*. The *s* is added immediately to the root, consequently the nasal infix of B II. is dropped and compensatory lengthening takes place, e.g. *bony-*, *böss-* < \**boḡ-s*.

## 127. *a*-Subjunctive Present.

		Active.			
		A I.		A II.	
		abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.
Sg.	1	<i>cara</i>	<i>·car</i>	<i>léicea</i>	<i>·léic</i>
	2	<i>carae</i>	<i>·carae</i>	<i>léice</i>	<i>·léice</i>
	3	<i>caraid -ith</i>	<i>·cara</i>	<i>léicid, -ith</i>	<i>·léicea</i>
rel.		<i>caras</i>		<i>léices</i>	
Pl.	1	<i>carmai (-immi)</i>	<i>·caram</i>	<i>léicmi</i>	<i>·léicem</i>
	rel.	<i>carmae (-imme)</i>		<i>léicme</i>	
	2	<i>carthae</i>	<i>·caraid, -aith</i>	<i>léicthe</i>	<i>léicid, -ith</i>
	3	<i>carait</i>	<i>·carat</i>	<i>léicit</i>	<i>léicet</i>
rel.		<i>cardae, -tae</i>		<i>léicde, -te</i>	

Like *cara* are inflected *a*-subj. belonging to B I. as *bera*, *cela*, &c. The deponents inflect abs. and conj. exactly as in pres. indic. except that 1st pers. sing. abs. and conj. ends in *-er*, *-ar*, instead of *-ur*, *-or*; *-er* after a palatal consonant, *-ar* after non-palatal.

The passive forms are the same as in pres. indicative passive except that **strong verbs have in the sing. the endings *-thir*, *-thar* as contrasted with the indic. *-ir*, *-ar*.**

*2nd berar vs berthair subj.*

128. **a-Subjunctive Preterite.**

Examples of strong verb B I.

	sing.	plur.
1	·berainn	·bermais
2	·bertha	·berthae
3	·berad, -ath	·bertais.

In strong verbs the final consonant of the root retains the non-palatal quality due to the -a-, in other verbs the flexion is exactly that of the imperfect indicative. Deponents inflect like active verbs.

**Passive.**

	A I.		A II.
Sg.	·carthae	·berthae	·léicthe
Pl.	·cartais	·bertais	·léictis

129. **s-Subjunctive Present.**Examples, *tiagu* 'I go,' *guidid* 'prays.'**Active.**

	abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.
Sg. 1	<i>tiasu</i>	·tias	( <i>gessu</i> ) <i>ghad</i>	·gess
2	<i>tési</i>	·téis	<i>gessi</i>	·geiss
3	<i>téis</i>	{ ·téi, ·té	<i>geiss</i>	{ ·gé (·ló)
rel.	<i>tias</i>	{ encl. -t	<i>gess</i>	{ encl. (-l)
Pl. 1	( <i>tiasmai</i> )	·tiasam	<i>gesmi</i>	·gessam
rel.	<i>tiasmae</i>		<i>gesme</i>	
2	( <i>tlastae</i> )	·tésid	<i>geste</i>	·gessid
3	<i>tiasait</i>	·tiasat	<i>gessit</i>	·gessat
rel.	<i>tlastae</i>			

**Deponent.**

	Abs.	Conj.	Abs.	Conj.
Sg. 1.	( <i>fessur</i> )	·fessur	( <i>fessimir</i> )	·fessamar
2.	( <i>fesser</i> )	·fesser	( <i>feste</i> )	·fessid
3.	( <i>festir</i> )	·festar	( <i>fessitir</i> )	·fessatar

**Passive.**

Sg.	<i>tlastair</i>	<i>gessur</i>	( <i>festir</i> )
Conj.	·tlastar	·gessar	·festar
Pl.	( <i>téisitir</i> )	( <i>gessitir</i> )	<i>fessitir</i>
Conj.	(·tiasatar)	·gessatar	·fessatar

The 1st sing. abs. is not found, but it probably ended in *-a*; *tíasu* has been influenced by the indic. pres. *tiagu*. Only two examples of the abs. flexion of deponents are found, viz., 3rd sg. *estir* '(though he) eat,' rel. *mestar* '(who may) judge.'

Stems with ablaut, or variation of vowel, restore the original vowel before the addition of the *-s*; thus *guidim*, stem *guid* < \**g<sup>u</sup>hod-i* is ablaut from *ged* < \**g<sup>u</sup>hed*-, and *ged* + *s*- becomes *gess*-.

For beginners difficult forms are those of the 3rd sg. conj., e.g., *gé*, *téi*, *ló*, but the loss of final consonants is in strict accordance with phonetic law (v. § 24 and cf. N. of consonantal stems, § 57); thus, \**ged* + *s* + *t* > *gé*, \**steigh* + *s* + *t* > *téi*, \**log* + *s* > *ló*; in the other persons the *-s* was not final, e.g., 2nd sing. *geiss* < \**ged* + *s* + *si*. Still more difficult are the enclitic forms of the 3rd sing. where the stem is reduced to merely the consonant or consonants of the anlaut: e.g., *t-in-fet* < \**to-in-syed* 'inspires,' enclitic 3rd sing. pres. subj. *·t-ini-b* (unless he) 'inspire' (for *b* = *f* < *sy*- v. § 41 *b* (*e*); *scochid*, subj. stem (*scess*), enclitic *con-roi-sc*; deuteroton. *fo-ló*, prototon. *·ful*. The stem *sag*- is reduced to *-a* in *·cuimtea* < \**con-di-sa* and *·téi* to *·t* in *con·éit*. Final *-rs* becomes *-rr* and does not disappear, e.g., *orgid*, 3rd sing. subj. *·orr*, enclitic *·com-ar* stems with initial *f* = *y* in enclitic positions after a vowel disappear altogether, e.g., *do·col* < \**de-co-yess-t*, *du·dí*, < \**to-dí-fed-s-t*.

### 130. s-Subjunctive Preterite.

	Sing.	Plur.
1.	<i>·gessinn</i> <i>·téisinn</i>	<i>·gesmis</i> <i>·tíasmais</i>
2.	<i>·gesta</i> <i>·tíasta</i>	<i>·geste</i> <i>·tíastae</i>
3.	<i>·gessed</i> <i>·téised</i>	<i>·gestis</i> <i>·tíastais</i>

#### Passive.

Sg.	<i>·geste</i> <i>·tíastae</i>	Pl.	<i>·gestis</i> <i>·tíastais</i>
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Under the influence of the *a*-subjunctive the personal endings tend more and more towards *a*-quality; e.g. sg.

1st *séasainn* (*·seinn*), 3rd *·bósad* (*bongid*), pl. *-mais*, *-tae*, *-tais*: the forms in *-tae* become later *-ta*. Deponents inflect like actives, e.g. *·fessinn*, *·festa*, &c.

N.B.—As *no* (or *ní*, *dia<sup>n</sup>*, *ara<sup>n</sup>*, &c.) is always prefixed to the subj. pret. only conj. forms are found.

### THE FUTURE STEM.

131. There are three types of future, viz., (a) **the *-f* future**, (b) **the asigmatic future**, and (c) **the *-s* future**. Weak verbs form the *-f* future, strong verbs the asigmatic or the *-s* future according as they make their subjunctives in *-a-* or *-s-*: by way of exception some strong words adopt the *-f* future, while a few weak verbs follow the asigmatic future; e.g. *·ic*, fut. *·icfea*; *caraid*, fut., *·cechra*, *scaraid*, fut. *scéra*.

### The *f*- Future.

132. The *f* future is formed by adding the suffix *-fa*, *-fea* to the future stem: in the conjunct. 1st sg. act. it is written *-b* (i.e.  $\beta$ ), and has *u*-quality, e.g. *léicub*; it is sometimes also written *-b* in inlaut, especially after *-s*. The *f* becomes palatal after a palatal vowel; e.g. *léicfea* < \**·línok<sup>u</sup>-i-fa*, but verbs A. I. change the quality of the stem final to palatal before this suffix; e.g. *anaid* 'remains,' fut. *ainfed*. The following explanations of the origin of the suffix, none of which are quite satisfactory, have been offered:—

- (1) That it is part of the verb 'to be' like *-bo* in Lat. *ama-bo†*, and cf. use of *asmi* 'I am' in Skr. 1st fut. *dātāsmi*. If this theory were true, we should expect to find *b* written more frequently than *f*, but the reverse is the fact.
- (2) That it first arose from the reduplicated fut. of a verb whose subj. stem was \**suā*, whence redupl. fut. = \**siśuā* < \**sifa*, but such a verb does not occur (Thurn).

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†According to Thurn. this is a new formation from *-bam* on the analogy *ero* : *eram* : : *amabo* : *amabam*.

- (3) That it corresponds to the Old Welsh fut. in *-hau* (from *sā-*), the suffix *-sa* after a stem ending in spirant *b* ( $\beta$ ) would give *-fa* < *v + h* (Thurn).

The probabilities are that it is some form of the *-s* fut. (*-suā*, *-suo* ?).

## 133.

## Dep. endings.

	abs.	conj.	abs.	conj.
Sg. 1	<i>léicfea</i>	<i>·léiciub</i>	<i>-fer</i>	<i>-fer, -far</i>
2	<i>léicfe</i>	<i>·léicfe</i>	<i>-fider</i>	<i>-fider</i>
3	<i>léicfid, -fith</i>	<i>·léicfea</i>	<i>-fithir, -fidir</i>	<i>-fedar, -fadar</i>
rel.	<i>léicfes</i>			
Pl. 1	<i>léicfinni</i>	<i>·léicfem</i>	<i>-finmir</i>	<i>-fammar</i>
rel.	<i>léicfinne</i>		<i>-femmar</i>	
2	<i>léicfithe, -fide</i>	<i>·léicfid</i>	<i>-fid</i>	
3	<i>léicfit</i>	<i>·léicfet</i>	<i>-fetar</i>	
rel.	<i>léicfite</i>			

0 Examples of the deponent forms in the sing. abs. are rare. In the 1st sg. dep. unsynocopated forms are found, e.g. *·cuirifar* beside *·molfar*.

## Passive.

Active and deponent have the same inflection.

	abs.	conj.
Sg.	<i>léicfidir, -ithir</i>	<i>·léicfider</i>
rel.	<i>·léicfider</i>	
Pl.	<i>léicfitir</i>	<i>·léicfiter, -fetar</i>
rel.	<i>léicfiter, -fetar</i>	

## 134.

## Future Preterite.

	sing.	plur.
2	<i>·léicfinn</i>	<i>·léicfinnis</i>
2	<i>·léicfeda</i>	<i>·léicfide, -fithe</i>
3	<i>·léicfed, -feth</i>	<i>·léicfitis.</i>

## Passive.

Sing. *·léicfide, -fithe*. Plur. *·léicfitis*.

The deponents inflect like actives. Only conj. forms occur (v. § 123).

## 135.

## THE ASIGMATIC FUTURE.

This future is formed by reduplicating the *a*-subjunctive stem. It is further sub-divided into three types (1) **the ordinary reduplicated future**, (2) **the *e*-future**, (3) **the future of verbs B IV.** (v. § 115).

1. **The ordinary reduplicated future.** The vowel of the reduplicated syllable is either *i* or *e*, the latter usually before a non-palatal consonant; e.g. with *i*, *gainithir* 'is born,' subj. stem *gena-*, fut. stem *gigne-* < \**gi-gena-*; *daimid* 'admits,' subj. stem *dama-*, fut. 3rd sg. *·didma* < \**di-dama*; *ibid* 'drinks,' subj. stem *eba-*, fut. stem *iba* < \**i-eba* (*i* long through contraction of vowels): with *e*, *canaid* 'sings,' subj. stem *cana-*, fut. stem *cechna-* < \**ce-chana-*; *doroígu* (perf.) 'has chosen,' fut. 3rd sg. *do·gega*.

2. **The *e*-Future.** <sup>instead of *e* or *a* subjunctive stem a compensating *i* appears.</sup> Almost all the forms found of this future are the result of widespread analogy from a few genuine reduplicated futures with a weak form of the root like the Skr. desideratives: e.g. *céla* < \**cechla* < \**ki-kl-a*, *kl* being the weak form of the root *kel*. Examples are *berid*, *·béra*; *celid* 'conceals,' *·céla*; *gaibid* 'takes,' *·géba*; *do·gní* 'does,' *·géna*.

3. **The Future of Class B IV.** e.g. *renaid* 'sells,' fut. 3rd sg. *·riri*; *lenaid* 'adheres,' fut. 3rd sg. *·lili*; *benaid* forms a future without reduplication, probably from the influence of *·fen*.

The flexion of the above futures 1, 2, and 3 is that of the subjunctive present.

136. **The *s*-Future.** The stem of the *s*-future is formed from the *s*-subj. by reduplication, the stem vowel being shortened or lost. The vowel of the reduplication syllable is normally *i*, but before stems with *a* it usually becomes *e*: e.g. *guidid* 'prays,' subj. *gess-*, fut. *gig..s*; *bongid* 'breaks,' subj. *bōss-*, fut. stem *bib..s-*; but *maidid* 'breaks,' subj. *māss*, fut. stem *mem..s-*.



**Note specially the following phonetic peculiarities:—**

(a) *ch* and *d* are retained before *l*, e.g. *ad-claid* 'hunts,' fut. 1st sing. *ad-cichlus*; *dlongid* 'cleaves,' fut. stem *did..ls-*.

(b) Verbs with an initial vowel only take the *i* of the reduplication, e.g. *orgid* 'strikes,' subj. *orr-*; fut. *iorr-*; *ithid* 'eats,' subj. *ess-* from  $\sqrt{ed}$ , fut. *iss-* by contraction (cf. *ib-*).

(c) Roots with initial *sl* drop the lenited *s* altogether after the reduplication, e.g. *slaidid* 'strikes,' fut. *sel..s-* < \**se-sl..s-*; *sligid*, fut. *sil..s* < \**si-sl..s*.

(d) Verbs with initial *s=su* have *f<su* after the reduplication, e.g. *sennid* ( $\sqrt{suenn-}$ ), subj. *sēss-*, fut. *sif..s-*.

(e) *saigid*, subj. *sāss-*, makes fut. *siass-* < \**si-sāss*.

(f) Roots with initial *f<u* drop it after reduplication; e.g. subj. *fess*, fut. *fiass* < *ui-uess*: as this *ia* becomes *e* when the stem does not form the final syllable, a confusion of the subj. and fut. forms results, e.g. *ro-fitir* 'knows,' fut. *fiastar* also as subj., while *festar* (subj.) occurs as fut.; *midithir* 'judges' form its fut. stem in *miass-* from analogy.

(g) The consonant of the reduplication syllable is lost after *fo-* and *to-* when they bear the principal accent, e.g. *folsitis* (MS. Wb. 15 a 20) < \**follisitis* < \**fo-li-lositis*, from *fo-loing*; *foichiurr* but deuterotonic *fo-cichurr* from *fo-ceird*.

**FORMS WITHOUT REDUPLICATION.**

137. When the stem is unaccented throughout all its forms, as is the case when two preps. precede it, it is not reduplicated and does not differ from the subjunctive, e.g. *nigid* 'washes,' fut. *ninus*, but *do-fo-nus*; *orgid*, fut. *iorr*, but *do-ess-arr*; *tiagu* 'I go,' fut. 3rd pl. *inotsat* < \**in-od-tessat*.

2. Some verbs use the *s*-subj. without reduplication as future, even when the stem is accented: e.g. *rethid*, fut. 3rd sg. *ré*; *laigid*, *lee* (i.e., *lé*); *saidid*, 3rd sg. abs. *seiss*.

### 138. Paradigm of the reduplicated s- future.

	abs.	conj.	dep.
Sg. 1	( <i>gigsea</i> ), <i>gigse</i>	<i>·gigiūs</i>	<i>·fessur</i>
2	( <i>gigsi</i> )	<i>·gigis</i>	<i>·fesser</i>
3	<i>gigis</i>	<i>·gig</i>	<i>·flastar</i>
rel.	<i>giges</i>		
Pl. 1	( <i>gigsimmi</i> )	<i>·gigsem</i>	<i>·fessamar</i>
rel.	( <i>gigsimme</i> )		
2	<i>gigeste</i>	<i>·gigsid</i>	<i>·fessid</i>
3	<i>gigsit</i>	<i>·gigset</i>	<i>·fessatar</i>
rel.	<i>gigsite.</i>		

### 139. Future Preterite.

Sg. 1	<i>·gigsinn</i>	<i>·iurr</i>	<i>·cichiurr</i>
2	( <i>·gigesta</i> )	<i>·iurr, irr</i>	( <i>·cichirr</i> )
3	<i>·gigsed</i>	<i>·iarr, ior</i>	<i>·cicherr</i>
Pl. 1	( <i>·gigsimnis</i> )		
2	( <i>·gigeste</i> )		
3	<i>·gigsitis</i>	<i>·errat, iurrat</i>	<i>·cichret.</i>

In the conj. 3rd sg. the vowel of the stem is sometimes retained, sometimes lost as in the s- subj. e.g. *maidid*, *·mema*; *nascid*, *·nena*; but *slaidid*, *·sel*; *·anich*, *·ain*; *sligid*, *·sil*

#### PRETERITE STEM (act. and dep.).

140. The preterite stem appears only in the pret. indic. act. and dep. It is formed in three ways:

1. **the s-preterite**: all weak verbs and a few strong verbs.

2. **the t-preterite**: strong verbs in *-l* and *-r* and several in *-m* and *-g*, active flexion only.

3. **the suffix-less preterite**: further sub-divided into **reduplicated** and **unreduplicated**: all other strong verbs.

### 141. The s- Preterite.

The preterital stem is formed by adding *-s-* (originally *-ss-*) to the verb stem; the form corresponds to the Id.G. s- aorist.

Welsh - the 's' pret is prevalent type  
but there are examples of the other two types

## 142. Paradigm of the s- Preterite.

		Active.	
		abs.	conj.
		A I.	A II.
Sg. 1	gabsu	·car <sup>u</sup> as	·léici <sup>u</sup> as
	2 gabsi	·carais	·léicis
	3 gabais	·car	·léic
rel. gabais			
Pl. 1 (gabsimmi)		·carsam	·léicsem
	rel. gabsimme		
	2 (gabsithe?)	·carsaid	·léicsid
	3 gabsit	·carsat	·léicset.

### Deponent.

A II. conj.

Sg. 1	·suidigsinur	Pl.	·suidigsemmar
2	·suidigser		·suidigsid
3	·suidigestar		·suidigsetar.

Of the abs. only the 3rd sg. is found, viz. *cíchnaigistír* ;  
A I. 3rd sg. e.g. *·molastar*, *·labrastar*.

## 143.

### The t- Preterite.

The *t*-preterite is formed by adding *t* to the verb stem ;  
if the stem ends in *-m* the *m* disappears and the preceding  
vowel is lengthened in compensation, while the *t* after a  
vowel = *d* ; if the stem ends in *-g* the *g* changes to *-ch*  
before *-t*. The *t* was originally the ending of the 3rd sg.  
only.

## 144.

### Paradigm of the t- Preterite.

		conj.
		accented
Sg. 1	·biurt	·ru-burt
	2 ·birt	·ru-bairt
	3 ·bert	·ru-bart
Pl. 1 (·bertammar)		·ru-bartmmar
	2 (·bertid)	·ru-bartaid
	3 ·bertar, ·bertatar	·ru-bartatar, bartat.

Wolot = canu cent, ceintool, cant  
cynwylt = kynwylth, kynwylth  
- mat - aeth, guneeth.

Of the abs. flexion are found only 3rd sg. *birt*, rel. *bertae*, pl. rel. *bertar*, *bertatar*; the 1st and 2nd sg. were probably *\*birtu*, *\*berti*.

Further examples: *alid* 'rears,' *alt*; *atraig* 'arises,' *atracht*; *celid* 'hides,' *celt*; *em*-, *-ét*; *sem*-, *-sét*; *orgid* 'slays,' *ort* < *\*orcht*.

## 145. The suffix-less Preterite.

### A. reduplicated.

The vowel of the reduplication syllable is *e*; the initial consonant of the root syllable which follows has always non-palatal quality, even when the verb stem has a palatal vowel. The consonantal groups *chl*, *gl*, *gr* often remain after the redupl. syllable, but *sl*, *sn*- give *sel*-, *sen*- as in the *s*-future.

## 146. Paradigm of reduplicated Preterite.

Example: *canaid* 'sings.'

conj.

Sg. 1 *·cechan*

Pl. *·cechnammar*

2 *·cechan*

*·cechnaid*

3 *·cechain*

*·cechnatar*.

has only  
active  
flexion

Absolute forms are rare. Further examples are:—*claidid* 'digs,' *cechlad*—; *maidid* 'breaks,' *memad*—; *adgreinn* 'follows,' *·gegrann*—; *fo·gleinn* 'learns,' *·geglann*—; *sennid* (√ *suenn*-) 'plays,' *sephann*- or *sefann*- (= *\*se-suann*); *ligid* 'licks,' *lelag*—; *sligid* 'strikes down,' *selag*- (= *\*se-slag*); *snigid* 'drops,' *senag*- (= *\*se-snag*). In *·génair* from the dep. *gainithir* 'is born,' *\*ge-gn*- has become *gén*. In later O. Ir. there is a tendency to substitute the vowel of the present for the *e* of the reduplication syllable, e.g. *·cachain* for *·cechain* (*canaid*), *bobig* for *\*bebig* (*bongid* 'breaks'). In prototonic forms with perfective *ro* the consonant of the reduplication is lost and *ro* + *e* give *róe*-, *roí*-, e.g. *ro·cechan*, prototon. *roíchan*; *ro·gegrann*, prototon. *roígramn*. After this analogy the prep. *com* changes to *cóim*-, *cóem*-, e.g. *do·nig* 'washes,' 3rd pl. *do·cóemnachtar* (= *\*nag-tar*); *fo·loing* 'endures,' *fo·cóim*-

*celah* - *clab* 1. *klein* (Kleise) in *cuale*

*adnabot* - *atween*

*duign* - *duign* *duign*, *du* of *gorn*

*duign* - *duign*

*lachtar* (= \**lag-tar*). In *ML*. a confusion begins to arise between the *ro-* of the deuteroton. redupl. forms and the *rot-* of the prototon. redupl. forms which have lost redupl. cons., e.g. *for-ro-chain* for *forrotchain* and vice versa *rotchechnatar* for *ro.cechnatar*.

### 147. Irregular reduplication.

Compounds of *-ic* have as preterite stem *ānac-* (*c=g*) i.e. *ān-ac*, cf. *Skr. ān-arc-* from *arc-*, e.g. *t-ic* 'comes,' pret. *t-ān-aic*.

*lingid* 'leaps' makes *leblang-*, with *ro-*, *rotblang*; *ling* < \**pling-* redupl. \**ple-plang* hence, with loss of initial *p*, *leblang*; analogically *dringid* 'climbs' makes *drebrang*.

Roots ending in a vowel are reduced to the initial consonant after the reduplication, e.g. *le-n-aid*, 3rd sg. *·lil*; *re-n-aid*, *rir*: *cre-n-aid* 1st sg. *·cér* < \**cehr-*, 3rd *·cluir*; *·gnin* 'recognizes' 1st and 2nd sg., *·gén* < \**gegn-*; *ciud* 'weeps,' *cich*. The dep. *ro-cluinethar* 'hears' had *u* as vowel of redupl. syllable, e.g. pret. 1st sg. *·cuala* < \**cōl-* < \**cochl-* < \**cu-chl-*, √ *kley*, cf. *Skr. su-srāv-a*, *ru-roc-a*. cf. W. big

### 148. Unreduplicated forms.

The unreduplicated forms are divided into ***a-preterites*** and ***i-preterites***.

***a-preterite***: some verbs have *ā* in the preterite stem when accented instead of the *ě* or *ǎ* of their root syllables, e.g. *rethid* 'runs,' *ráth-* (encl. *·ro-rth-atar*, *·ro-rth-etar* < \**ro-reth-atar*; *techid* 'flees,' *tách-* (encl. *ad·róe-thach*).

***i-preterite***: √ *per*, subj. *·era* 'grant,' pret. 3rd sg. *·ir*; *midithir* 'judges,' 1st sg. *·mídar* (encl. *·ammadar*).

### 149. Irregular unreduplicated forms.

The verb 'to go' forms its preterite sg. 1 and 2 *·lod*, 3rd *·luid*, pl. 1 *·lodmar*, 3rd *·lotar* (encl. *·tu-ltatar*, in *·ría-l-datar*), *benaid* 'strikes' makes 3rd sg. *·bí*, pl. *·beotar*, encl. *·ru-ba*, pl. *·rár-pa-tar*.

### 150. Paradigm of unreduplicated Preterite.

Examples: *guidid* 'prays' and *midithir* 'judges':

	conj.	dep.
Sg. 1	<i>·gád</i>	<i>mídar</i>
2	<i>·gád</i>	<i>*mídar</i>
3	<i>·gáid</i>	<i>(mídair)</i>
Pl. 1	<i>·gádammar</i>	<i>*mídammar</i>
2	<i>(·gádid)</i>	<i>*mídaid</i>
3	<i>·gádatar</i>	<i>(mídatar)</i>

A relative form *gáde* is found in 3rd sing.: in later MSS. the 3rd sg. conj. is used for absolute, e.g., *táich* 'fled' (*techid*). In contradistinction to the deponent ending the 3rd plural *-atar* of the active may be shortened to *-tar*.

### 151. PASSIVE PRETERITE STEM.

The passive preterite stem corresponds to the Id.G. verbal adj. in *-to-*, *tā-*, cf. Gk. and Lat. verbal adjs. *λυτό-ς*, *scrip-tu-s*.

The *t* of the suffix becomes *th* or *d* (ð) after vowels, e.g. *cara-d*, *léice-d*, *·gní-th*, *·frí-th*: *c* and *g* become *ch* before *t*, e.g. *bongid* (√ *bog*), *·bocht*; *sligid*, *·slecht*; *·ic*, *·icht*: a dental or *s* + *t* = *ss*, e.g., *mid-ithir*, *mess*; *claidid*, *class*; *ad·cí* (√ *quis*), *·cess*: also stems in *-nn*, e.g., *·glenn*, *·glas*; *orgid* makes *·ort* < *\*orcht* as in the *t*-preterite.

Strong verbs with roots containing *-er*, *-el* change to *re*, *le*, e.g. *berid*, *·breth*; *celid*, *·cleth*; *fo·ceird*, *·cress*.

Strong verbs in *-n* and *-m* make preterites in *-ét* (*t* = *d*), e.g. *canaid* 'sings,' *cét*; *daimid*, *dét*; *do·moinethar*, *·mét*; *gonaid* 'wounds' makes *·goít*, *·góet* (from a different root).

### 152. Paradigm of Passive Preterite.

	Absolute.		
	A I.	A II.	B V.
Sg. 3	<i>·carthae</i>	<i>léicthe</i>	<i>brethae</i>
Pl.	not found	not found	not found
	Conjunct.		
Sg. 3	<i>·carad</i>	<i>·léiced,-eth</i>	<i>·breth (-brad)</i>
Pl.	<i>·cartha</i>	<i>·léicthea</i>	<i>·bretha</i>



## 153.

## THE PARTICIPLES.

**The Past Participle Passive:** This is formed from active verbs like the passive preterite, but with the suffix *-tio-*, *tiā-*, e.g. *carthae*, *léicthe*, dep. *moltae* (*moladar*). Strong verbs have the same root as in the pret. pass., e.g. *benaid*, *bíthe*; *orgid*, *ortae*; *claidid*, *claisse*; *canaid*, *céte*: irregular are *gnuid*, *gnethe* (contrast *snuid*, *snithe*); *for-fen*, *for-baide* (unsynocopated), but also *foir-bthe* (used as adj.). This participle sometimes has the force of 'possibility,' e.g. *renaid* 'sells,' *rithe* 'saleable'; *neph-icthe* 'incurable.' The declension is that of adjs. in *-e*, *-ae*, § 69.

**The Participle of necessity:** The suffix is *-ti* (*-thi*, *-di*) corresponding to Welsh *-adwy* in *caradwy*, and is indeclinable. Thurneysen (after Zupitza) suggests that in origin these participles are old predicative datives of verbal abstracts with the suffix *-tei-*, *-ti-*, and compares Skr. *pī-táyē* 'for drinking' = 'to be drunk,' e.g. *carthai*, *léicthi*; *canid* 'sings' makes *céti*, but in compound *for-cain* both *foircthi* and *for-canti*; *em* (*do-em*) makes *ítí* (*díti*). Verbs with stems ending in a dental or *s* make *-ssi*, sometimes *-sti*, e.g. *gnuidid*, *gessi*, *midithir*, *messi*; *as-gleinn*, *eclastai*: *benaid* and *sernaid* make *bethi*, *srethi*; the participle of *berid* is only found in synocopated compounds as *ta-barthi*, *eperthi*, the abs. form was probably *\*brethi*.

## 154.

## VERBAL NOUNS.

In O. Ir. there is properly speaking no infinitive, but the use of a verbal abstract noun in the dat. with the prep. *do* sometimes approaches the use of the infinitive in other languages.

1. As a rule the verbal noun has the same root as the verb, but some few verbs use a different root as verbal noun, e.g. *gal* v.n. of *fichid* 'fights,' *dí-gal* of *do-fich*, &c.; denominative verbs may have the noun from which they are derived as verbal noun, e.g. *icc* v.n. of *iccaid*

'heals'; the usual ending for denominative verbal nouns is A I. *-ad*, *-ath*. A II. *-iud*, *-iuth*, *-ud*, *-uth*, declined as *u*-stem, e.g. *móraid* 'magnifies,' *mórad*; *léicid*, *léiciud*; also *anaid* (primary verb), *anad*.

2. Compounds whose roots end in a guttural or *-nn* have no termination and decline as neut. *o*-stems, e.g. *fo·loing*, *fulach*; *ad·slig*, *aslach*; *do·seinn*, D. sg. *tofunn*.

3. Neuters in *-e* (*io*-stems), e.g. *saidid*, *suide*; *laigid*, *lige*; *fris·gair*, *frecre*; *ad·gnin*, *aithgne*.

4. Feminines in *-e* (*īā*-stems), e.g. *guidid*, *guide*; *sligid*, *slige*; *claidid*, *claide*.

5. Suffix *-ti*, f.: e.g. *breth*, G. *brithe*; *cleith* (*celid*), *mlith* (*melid*).

Suffix *-to*, n.: e.g. *mrath* (*mairnid*), *·mat* (*·moinethar*).

Suffix *-tu*, m.: e.g. *mess* < \**med-tu* (*midithir*), *fiss* (*ro·fitir*).

Suffix *-tiō*, f.: e.g. *ditiu* (*dí-em-*), *joditiu* (*fo·daim*), *toim-tiu* < \**to-men-tiu* (*do·moinethar*).

6. Suffix m. *-mu*, f. *-mā*, n. *-smn* or *-nn*: e.g. *gnīm*, m. (*gniūd*), *cretem*, f. (*cretid*), *céimm*, n. (*cingid*).

7. Suffix *-ni*, *-ná*, f.: e.g. *buain* < \**bog-ni* (*bongid*), *áin* < \**ag-ni* (\**agid*); *orcun*, G. *oirne* (*orgid*), *fedan*, G. *fednae* (*fedid*).

8. Nouns in *-l*: e.g. *cétal* (*canaid*) *anacul* (*·anich*), *gabál* (*gaibid*).

N.B.—*renaid* and *crenaid* make \**ricc* \**cricc* (D. A. sg. *reicc* (*ricc*), *creicc*); *lenaid*, *glenaid*, *tlenaid* make *lenamon*, *glenamon*, *tlenamon*. The loan-words *scribaid* and *légaid* make *scribend* and *légend* from Lat. *gerund*, and *do·lega* 'destroys' make *dilgend* after the analogy of Lat. *delendum*.

### Complete Paradigm of the Weak Verbs.

Examples: *caraid* 'loves,' *léicid* 'leaves,' *suidigidir* (dep.) 'places.'

**Active :****INDICATIVE.**

A I.

A II.

Deponent.

**155.****Present absolute.**

Sg. 1	<i>caraim</i>	<i>léicim</i>	<i>suidigim</i>
2	<i>carai</i>	<i>léici</i>	<i>suidigther</i>
3	<i>caraid</i>	<i>léicid</i>	<i>suidigidir</i>
rel.	<i>caras</i>	<i>léices</i>	<i>suidigedar</i>
Pl. 1	<i>carmai</i>	<i>léicmi</i>	<i>suidigmir</i>
rel.	<i>carmae</i>	<i>léicme</i>	<i>suidigmer</i>
2	<i>carthae</i>	<i>léicthe</i>	<i>suidigthe</i>
3	<i>carait</i>	<i>léicit</i>	<i>suidigitir</i>
rel.	<i>caraithe</i>	<i>léicde, -ite</i>	<i>suidigetar</i>

**156.****Conjunct.**

Sg. 1	<i>caru</i>	<i>léiciu, -im</i>	<i>suidigur</i>
2	<i>carai</i>	<i>léici</i>	<i>suidigther</i>
3	<i>cara</i>	<i>léici</i>	<i>suidigedar</i>
Pl. 1	<i>caram</i>	<i>léicem</i>	<i>suidigmer</i>
2	<i>caraid</i>	<i>léicid</i>	<i>suidigid</i>
3	<i>carat</i>	<i>léicet</i>	<i>suidigetar</i>

**157.****Imperfect (always conjunct).**

Sg. 1	<i>caraimn</i>	<i>léicinn</i>	<i>suidiginn</i>
2	<i>cartha</i>	<i>léicthea</i>	<i>suidigthea</i>
3	<i>carad</i>	<i>léiced</i>	<i>suidiged</i>
Pl. 1	<i>carmais</i>	<i>léicmis</i>	<i>suidigmis</i>
2	<i>carthae</i>	<i>léicthe</i>	<i>suidigthe</i>
3	<i>cartais</i>	<i>léictis</i>	<i>suidigtis</i>

**158.****Future absolute.**

Sg. 1	<i>carfa</i>	<i>léicfea</i>	<i>suidigfer</i>
2	<i>carfe</i>	<i>léicfe</i>	<i>suidigfider</i>
3	<i>carfid</i>	<i>léicfid</i>	<i>suidigfidir</i>
rel.	<i>carfas</i>	<i>leicfes</i>	<i>suidigfedar</i>
Pl. 1	<i>carfimmi</i>	<i>léicfimmi</i>	<i>suidigfimmir</i>
rel.	<i>carfimme</i>	<i>léicfimme</i>	<i>suidigfimmar</i>
2	<i>carfithe</i>	<i>leicfide</i>	<i>suidigfide</i>
3	<i>carfit</i>	<i>léicfit</i>	<i>suidigfitir</i>
rel.	<i>carfite</i>	<i>léicfite</i>	<i>suidigfetar</i>

cf 131  
and says 'a ch  
them  
p. 375

**159.** conjunct.

Sg. 1	·carub	·léiciub	·suidigfer
2	·carfe	·léicfe	·suidigfider
3	·carfa	·léicfea	·suidigfedar
Pl. 1	·carfam	·léicfem	·suidigfemmar
2	·carfid	·léicfid	·suidigfid
3	·carfat	·léicfet	·suidigfetar

**160. Future Preterite** (always conjunct).

Sg. 1	·carfinn	·léicfinn	·suidigfinn
2	·carfeda	·léicfeda	·suidigfeda
3	·carfad	·léicfed	·suidigfed
Pl. 1	·carfimmis	·léicfimmis	·suidigfimmis
2	·carfide	·léicfide	·suidigfide
3	·carfitis	·léicfitis	·suidigfitis

**161. Preterite** (absolute).

Sg. 3	carais	léicis	suidigistir
Pl. 3	carsait	léicsit	suidigsitir

**162.** conjunct.

Sg. 1	·carus	·léicius	·suidigsiur
2	·carais	·léicis	·suidigser
3	·car	·léic	·suidigestar
Pl. 1	·carsam	·léicsem	·suidigsemmar
2	·carsaid	·léicsid	·suidigsid
3	·carsat	·léicset	·suidigsetar

**SUBJUNCTIVE.****163. Present** (absolute).

Sg. 1	cara	léicea	*suidiger
2	caræ	léice	suidigther
3	caraid	léicid	suidigidir
rel.	caras	léices	suidigedar
Pl. 1	carmai	léicmi	suidigmir
rel.	carmæ	léicme	suidigmer
2	carthæ	léicthe	suidigthe
3	carait	leicit	suidigitir
rel.	caraitte	léicde, -ite	suidigetar

<b>164.</b>		conjunct.	
Sg. 1	·car	·léic	·suidiger
2	·carae	·léice	·suidigther
3	·cara	·léicea	·suidigedar
Pl. 1	·caram	·léicem	·suidigmer
2	·caraid	·léicid	·suidigid
3	·carat	·léicet	·suidigetar

**165. Preterite (only conjunct).**

Sg. 1	·carainn	·léicinn	·suidiginn
2	·cartha	·léicthea	·suidigthea
3	·carad	·léiced	·suidiged
Pl. 1	·carmais	·léicmis	·suidigmis
2	·carthae	·léicthe	·suidigthe
3	·cartais	·léictis	·suidigtis

**166. IMPERATIVE (abs. & conj.).**

Sg. 2	car	léic	suidigthe
3	carad	léiced	suidiged
Pl. 1	caram	léicem	(suidigmer)
2	caraid	léicid	suidigid
3	carat	léicet	suidigetar

**Passive : INDICATIVE.**

**167 Present, absolute.**

Sg. 3	carthair	léicthir	suidigthir
rel.	carthar	léicther	suidigther
Pl. 3	cartair, -atair	léictir, -itir	suidigtir
rel.	cartar, -atar	léicter, -etar	suidigter

conjunct.

Sg. 3	·carthar	·léicther	·suidigther
Pl. 3	·cartar, -atar	·léicter, -etar	·suidigter

**168. Imperfect (always conjunct).**

Sg. 3	·carthae	·léicthe	·suidigthe
Pl. 3	·cartais	·léictis	·suidigtis

**169. Future, absolute.**

Sg. 3	<i>carfidir</i>	<i>léicfidir</i>	<i>suidigfidir</i>
rel.	<i>carfedar</i>	<i>léicfedar</i>	<i>suidigfedar</i>
Pl. 3	<i>carfitir</i>	<i>léicfitir</i>	<i>suidigfitir</i>
rel.	<i>carfiter, -fetar</i>	<i>léicfiter, -fetar</i>	<i>suidigfiter,</i> <i>-fetar</i>

**conjunct.**

Sg. 3	<i>·carfider</i>	<i>·léicfider</i>	<i>·suidigfider</i>
Pl. 3	<i>·carfiter, -fetar</i>	<i>·léicfiter, -fetar</i>	<i>·suidigfiter,</i> <i>-fetar</i>

**170. Future Preterite (always conjunct).**

Sg. 3	<i>·carfide</i>	<i>·léicfide</i>	<i>·suidigfide</i>
Pl. 3	<i>·carfitis</i>	<i>·léicfitis</i>	<i>·suidigfitis</i>

**171. Preterite, absolute.**

Sg. 3	<i>carthae</i>	<i>léicthe</i>	<i>suidigthe</i>
Pl. 3	<i>(carthai)</i>	<i>(léicthi)</i>	<i>(suidigthi)</i>

**conjunct.**

Sg. 3	<i>·carad</i>	<i>·léiced</i>	<i>·suidiged</i>
Pl. 3	<i>·cartha</i>	<i>·léicthea</i>	<i>·suidigthea</i>

**Perfect.**

Formed from the pret. by means of *ro* with infixed pronouns of 1st and 2nd pers. sg. and pl.

Sg. 1	<i>ro-m·charad</i>	Pl. <i>ro-n·carad</i>
2	<i>ro-t·charad</i>	<i>ro-b·carad</i>
3	<i>ro·carad</i>	<i>ro·cartha</i>

**SUBJUNCTIVE.****172. Present, absolute.**

Sg. 3	<i>carthair</i>	<i>léicthir</i>	<i>suidigthir</i>
rel.	<i>carthar</i>	<i>léicther</i>	<i>suidigther</i>
Pl. 3	<i>cartair, -aitir</i>	<i>léictir, -itir</i>	<i>suidigtir</i>
rel.	<i>cartar, -atar</i>	<i>léicter, -etar</i>	<i>suidigter</i>

**conjunct.**

Sg. 3	<i>·carthae</i>	<i>·léicther</i>	<i>·suidigther</i>
Pl. 3	<i>·cartar, -atar</i>	<i>·léicter, -etar</i>	<i>·suidigter</i>



**173. Preterite** (always conjunct).

Sg. 3	<i>·carthae</i>	<i>·léicthe</i>	<i>·suidigthe</i>
Pl. 3	<i>·cartais</i>	<i>·léictis</i>	<i>·suidigtis</i>

**174. IMPERATIVE** (abs. & conj.).

Sg. 3	<i>carthar</i>	<i>léicther</i>	<i>suidigther</i>
Pl. 3	<i>cartar</i>	<i>léicter</i>	<i>suidigter</i>

**175. Past Participle Passive.**

<i>carthae</i>	<i>léicthe</i>	<i>suidigthe</i>
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**Participle of Necessity.**

<i>carthai</i>	<i>léicthi</i>	<i>suidigthi</i>
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**Verbal Noun.**

<i>carad</i>	<i>léiciud</i>	<i>suidigud</i>
G. <i>cartho, -a</i>	<i>léictheo, -ea</i>	<i>suidigtheo, -ea</i>

**Paradigm of Strong verbs.**

Examples: *biru* 'I bear,' *gaibim* 'I take,' *benaim* 'I strike.'

**Active: INDICATIVE.****176. Present, absolute.**

	B I.	B II.	B IV.
Sg. 1	<i>biru</i>	<i>gaibim</i>	<i>benaim</i>
2	<i>bir (beri)</i>	<i>gaibi</i>	<i>benai</i>
3	<i>berid</i>	<i>gaibid</i>	<i>benaid</i>
rel.	<i>beres</i>	<i>gaibes</i>	<i>benas</i>
Pl. 1	<i>bermai</i>	<i>gaibmi</i>	<i>benmi</i>
rel.	<i>bermae</i>	<i>gaibme</i>	<i>benme</i>
2	<i>berthe</i>	<i>gaibthe</i>	<i>bente</i>
3	<i>berait</i>	<i>gaibit</i>	<i>benait</i>
rel.	<i>bertae</i>	<i>gaibte</i>	<i>bente</i>

**177. conjunct.**

Sg. 1	<i>·biur</i>	<i>·gaibim</i>	( <i>·benaim</i> )
2	<i>·bir</i>	<i>·gaibi</i>	<i>·benai</i>
3	<i>·beir</i>	<i>·gaib</i>	<i>·ben</i>
			(encl. <i>·be</i> )
Pl. 1	<i>·beram</i>	<i>·gaibem</i>	<i>·benam</i>
2	<i>·berid</i>	<i>·gaibid</i>	<i>·benaid</i>
3	<i>·berat</i>	<i>·gaibet</i>	<i>·benat</i>

**178. Imperfect** (always conjunct).

Sg. 1	·berinn	·gaibinn	·benaimn
2	·bertha	(·gaibthea)	·benta
3	·bered	·gaibed	·benad
Pl. 1	·bermis	·gaibmis	·benmis
2	·berthe	·gaibthe	·bente
3	·bertis	·gaibtis	·bentis

**179. Future, absolute.**

Substituting *guidim* (B III.) and *renaim* (B IV.) for *gaibim* and *benaim*.

Sg. 1	béra	gigsea	(rirea)
2	bérae	(gigsi)	(rîre)
3	béraid	gigis	rîri
rel.	béras	giges	rîres
Pl. 1	bérmai	gigsimmi	(rîrmi)
rel.	bermae	(gigsimme)	(rîrme)
2	bérthae	gigeste	(rîrthe)
3	bérait	gigsit	rîrit
rel.	bértae	gigsite	(rîrte)

conjunct.

Sg. 1	·bér	·gigiús	·rîrîú
2	·bérae	·gigis	(·rîre)
3	·béra	·gig	·rîri
Pl. 1	·béram	·gigsem	·rîrem
2	·béraid	·gigsid	·rîrid
3	·bérat	·gigset	(·rîret)

**180. Future Preterite** (always conjunct) with *ithim* for *benaim*.

Sg. 1	·béraimn	·gigsimn	(·issaimn)
2	·bértha	·gigesta	(·isstá)
3	·bérad	·gigsed	·issad
Pl. 1	·bérmis	·gigsimmis	(·issmais)
2	·bérthe	·gigeste	(·isstae)
3	·bértis	·gigsitis	·isstais

**181. Preterite, absolute, with *guidim* for *benaim*.**

Sg. 1	* <i>birtu</i>	<i>gabsu</i>	* <i>gáda</i>
2	* <i>berti</i>	<i>gabsi</i>	* <i>gádae</i>
3	<i>birt</i>	<i>gabais</i>	<i>gáid</i>
rel.	<i>bertae</i>	<i>gabes</i>	<i>gáde</i>
Pl. 1	* <i>bertimmir</i>	( <i>gabsimmi</i> )	* <i>gádimmir</i>
rel.	* <i>bertemmar</i>	<i>gabsimne</i>	* <i>gádemmar</i>
2	* <i>bertithe</i>	( <i>gabsithe</i> )	* <i>gádtthe</i>
3	* <i>bertir</i>	<i>gabsit</i>	* <i>gáditir</i>
rel.	<i>bertar,-atar</i>	<i>gabsite</i>	<i>gádatar</i>

conjunct.

Sg. 1	· <i>bert</i> , · <i>biurt</i>	· <i>gabus</i>	· <i>gád</i>
2	· <i>birt</i>	· <i>gabais</i>	· <i>gád</i>
3	· <i>bert</i>	· <i>gab</i>	· <i>gáid</i> , · <i>bí</i>
Pl. 1	· <i>bertammar</i>	· <i>gabsam</i>	· <i>gádammar</i>
2	· <i>bertaid</i>	· <i>gabsid</i>	(· <i>gádid</i> )
3	· <i>bertatar</i>	· <i>gabsat</i>	· <i>gádatar</i>

**SUBJUNCTIVE.****182. Present, absolute, with *guidim* for *benaim*.**

Sg. 1	<i>bera</i>	<i>gaba</i>	( <i>gessa</i> )
2	<i>berae</i>	<i>gabae</i>	<i>gessi</i>
3	<i>beraid</i>	<i>gabaid</i>	<i>geiss</i>
rel.	<i>beras</i>	<i>gabas</i>	<i>ges</i>
Pl. 1	<i>bermai</i>	<i>gabmai</i>	<i>gesmi</i>
rel.	<i>bermae</i>	<i>gabmae</i>	<i>gesme</i>
2	<i>berthae</i>	<i>gabtha</i>	<i>geste</i>
3	<i>berait</i>	<i>gabait</i>	<i>gessit</i>
rel.	<i>bertae</i>	<i>gabtae</i>	<i>geste (bete)</i>

conjunct with *benaim*.

Sg. 1	· <i>ber</i>	· <i>gab</i>	(· <i>béu</i> )
2	· <i>berae</i>	· <i>gabae</i>	(· <i>biae</i> )
3	· <i>bera</i>	· <i>gaba</i>	· <i>bia</i>
Pl. 1	· <i>beram</i>	· <i>gabam</i>	· <i>biam</i>
2	· <i>beraid</i>	· <i>gabaid</i>	*· <i>biaid</i>
3	· <i>berat</i>	· <i>gabat</i>	(· <i>biat</i> )

encl. ·*bet*

**183. Preterite** (only conjunct).

Sg. 1	·berinn	·gabinn	*·biinn
2	·bertha	·gabtha	*·bitha
3	·berad	·gabad	·biad
			(encl. ·bed, ·bath)
Pl. 1	·bermis	·gabmis	*·bimis
2	·berthe	·gabthe	*·bithe
3	·bertis	·gabtis	·betis

**184. IMPERATIVE** (abs. & conj.).

Sg. 2	beir	gaib	ben
3	bered, -ad	gaibed	benad
Pl. 1	beram	gaibem	benam
2	berid	gaibid	benaid
3	berat	gaibet	benat

**185. Passive : INDICATIVE.****Present, absolute.**

Sg. 3	berair	gaibthir	benair
rel.	berar	gaibther	benar
Pl. 3	bertair	gaibtir	bentir
rel.	bertar	gaibter	bentar

## conjunct.

Sg. 3	·berar	·gaibther	·benar
Pl. 3	·bertar	·gaibter, -etar	·bentar

**186. Imperfect** (always conjunct).

Sg. 3	·berthe	·gaibthe	·bente
Pl. 3	·bertis	·gaibtis	·bentis

**187.****Future, absolute.**

Sg. 3	bérthir	(gébthir)	*bethir
Pl. 3	bértir	(gébtir)	*betir

## conjunct.

Sg. 3	·bérthar	(·gébthar)	*·bethar
Pl. 3	·bértar	(·gébtar)	*·betar

**188. Future Preterite** (always conjunct).

Sg. 3	·bérthe	(·gébthe)	*bethe encl. ·baide
Pl. 3	·bértis	(·gébtis)	*betis

**189. Preterite, absolute.**

Sg. 3	brethae	gabthae	(bithe)
Pl. 3	*brethai	*gabthai	*bithi

conjunct.

Sg. 3	·breth	·gabad	·bith
Pl. 3	·bretha	·gabtha	*·betha

**Subjunctive :** *present* as in Indicative abs. and conj. ;  
*preterite* as in imperf. indicative ; **imperative** as in pres.  
 indicative conjunct.

**190. Past participle Passive.**

(brethe) encl. ·berthe (gaibthe) bithē

**Participle of Necessity.**

(brethi) encl. ·berthi (gaibthi) bethi

**Verbal Noun.**

	breth, brith	gabál	béimm
G.	·brithe	gabálae	béimme

**191. The Verb 'to be.'**

The verb has two series of forms : one series contains the forms which denote **existence**—the **substantive verb** ; the other series is composed of forms which are used merely to **connect** subject with predicate—the **copula** : the forms of the copula are always weakly accented (proclitic). The verb is built up by employing several different roots in the sense of 'being' : thus, the substantive verb employs the roots *stā* (Lat. *stā-re*), *uel* (W. *gwel-ed* 'to see'), *bhū* (Skr. *bhāv-ati*, Gk. *φύ-ομαι*, Lat. *fu-i*) 'to become' ; the copula employs, in addition to *bhū* and *stā*, the

Id G. root *es* 'to be'; cf. French, Italian and German use of *se trouver*, *star*, and *sich befinden* in the sense of 'being'; also the different roots in English *am*, *be*, *was*.

## SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

### INDICATIVE.

192.

Present from  $\sqrt{stā}$ .

conjunct.

Sg.	1	·tāu, ·tó, -tú	Pl.	·taam
	2	·taí		{·taaid, ·taaith
				{·taid, ·taad
	3	·tá		·taat, ·tát

The usual form is *attá*, *atá* < \**ad-stā-iō*, but the prep. *ad* is dropped when a conjunct particle precedes the verb, e.g. *i-tāu* 'in which I am,' *hó-taat* 'from which they are.' With *ol* or *in* 'than' the following forms are found: sg. 1. *oldáu* (*oldó*), 2. *oldái* (*oltaí*), 3. rel. *oldaas*, *indaas*; pl. 3. *oldátae* (*oldáta*), *indátae*: the 1st and 2nd sg. *oldáu*, *oldái* may mean either 'than I,' 'than thou,' or 'than mine,' 'than thine': an abs. form of the 3rd sg. *táith* is found in poetry with suffixed pronouns (v. § 87). The relative passive form is found written *dathar* (*d* = nasalized *t*), e.g. *is heel dathar dom* Wb. 21 c 9, *dathar dún*, Wb. 28 d 4.

193.

Present from  $\sqrt{uel}$

**Fil** (*fel*, *feil*, later *fail*), rel. *file*, *fele*, is used for all numbers and persons: originally *fil* was a 2nd sg. imperative = 'lo!' and the oldest use is with suffixed pronouns; e.g. *fil-us* 'there are' (lit. 'behold them!') The etymology of *fil* explains the fact that it takes the accusative case after it, e.g. *ní fil aimsir* (N. *aimser*) 'there is not a time.' With infixed pronouns: e.g. *con-dum-fel* 'so that I am,' *con-dib-feil* 'so that ye are,' *ci-ni-n-fil* 'though we are not.' N.B.—**ni-s-fil** 'they are not,' beside **ni-s-tá**, 'they have not.' Relative use:



*fil* or *file*, e.g., *a fil* 'which is,' *amal file óentid eter baulu* 'as there is unity between members,' *inna fer fel* and 'of the men who are there,' *a-rrad file* and *som*, 'the grace which is in him,' *isnaib rendaib fail húas gréin* 'in the stars which are above the sun.' In question and answer, e.g. *in fil?* *fil*, 'Is there? Yes (there is).'

## 194.

Tenses from  $\sqrt{bh\ddot{u}}$ .

## Consuetudinal Present.

	Absolute.	Conjunct.
Sg. 1	<i>bíuu</i>	<i>·bíu</i>
2	( <i>bí</i> )	<i>·bí</i>
3	<i>bíud, -ith</i>	<i>·bí</i> (encl. <i>-bai</i> )
rel.	<i>bís</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>bímme</i>	<i>bíam</i>
rel.	<i>bímme</i>	
3	<i>bíút</i>	<i>·bíat, -biat</i> (encl. <i>-bat</i> )
rel.	<i>bíte</i>	

## Passive.

Sg. 3	<i>bíthir</i>	<i>·bíther</i>
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## 195.

## Imperfect.

Sg. 1	<i>·bíunn</i>	Pl. 1 ( <i>·bímis</i> )
3	<i>·bíth</i>	2 <i>·bítis</i>

## 196.

## Future.

Sg. 1	<i>bía</i>	not found
2	<i>bíae</i>	<i>·bíae</i>
3	<i>bíeid, bíd</i>	<i>·bíae</i>
rel.	<i>bías</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>bemmi</i>	<i>·bíam</i>
2	<i>béthi</i>	<i>·bíeid, bíd</i>
3	<i>bíeit, bít</i>	<i>·bíat</i>
rel.	<i>bete</i>	

**197. Future Preterite (conjunct only)**

Sg. 1	·beinn	Pl. ·bemmīs
3	·biad	·betis

The infixed pronouns are added to the forms of the future of the substantive verb by means of *ro* instead of *no*; in the fut. preterite they are infixed by either *ro* or *no*, e.g., *ro-m-bia* 'I shall have,' *ro-m-biad* or *no-m-biad* 'I should have.'

**198. Preterite.**

conjunct.

Sg. 1	·bá, encl. -ba	Pl. ·bámmar, encl. -bammār
2	·bá, encl. -ba	·baid, encl. -baid
3	·boí, ·baí, encl. -bae	·bátar, encl. -batar.

**Passive.**

·both.

The only absolute forms occurring are sg. 3 *boí* rel. *boíe*; pl. 3 *bátar*; pass. *bothae*, rel. *botha*.

**199. IMPERATIVE.**

Sg. 2	<i>bí</i>	<i>bíid</i> (·bith)
3	<i>bíth, bíd</i>	<i>bíat</i>

**SUBJUNCTIVE.****200. Present.**

Sg. 1	<i>beu, beo</i>	(·béu, beo)
2	<i>bee</i>	
3	<i>beith, beid</i> <i>beth, bed</i>	·bé (encl. -b)
rel.	<i>bes</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>bemmi</i>	·bem (encl. -bam)
2	<i>bethe</i>	·beith, ·beid (encl. -bith)
3	<i>beit</i>	·bet (encl. -bat)
rel.	<i>bete</i>	

**Passive.**

<i>bethir</i>	·bether
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**201. Preterite.**

Sg. 1	(·beinn)	Pl.	·bemmis
2	·betha		·bethe
3	·beth, ·bed, encl.-bad		·betis

**202. Participle of Necessity.***buiithi.***Verbal Noun.***buiith* (*both, bith, beith*). G. *buithe*.**THE COPULA.****INDICATIVE.****203. Present, absolute.**

Sg. 1	<i>am</i>	Pl.	<i>ammi, ammin</i>
2	<i>at, it</i>		<i>adib, idib</i>
3	<i>is</i>		<i>it</i>
rel. as			<i>ata, at</i> (Ml.).

Peculiar forms of the rel, 3rd sg. and pl. are used after *cía, ce* 'although,' and *má, ma* 'if,' e.g. sg. *cía-s-u'* (*cesu, ceso*), *má-s-u'* (*massu, maso*), in Ml. *cíasa, masa*; pl. *ce-t-u'* (*ceto*), *ma-t-u'*. The palatal vowel of *is, it* is probably due to their frequent use with the prons. *hé, hed*.

**204. conjunct.**

There are two distinct series of forms viz. (a) those used after the negative *ní, ni*, (b) those used in cases where the longer forms of the infixed pronouns would be employed (v. § 85).

(a) with <i>ní</i>		(b) with <i>con</i> .	
Sg. 1	<i>ní-ta'</i>		<i>con-da</i>
2	<i>ní-ta'</i>		<i>con-da</i>
3	<i>ní<sup>g</sup></i>		<i>con-did, con-id</i>
Pl. 1	<i>ní-tam', -tan', -dan'</i>		<i>con-dan</i>
2	<i>ní-tad, -dad</i>		<i>con-dad</i>
3	<i>ní-tat -dat</i>		<i>con-dat</i>

In the (b) series the 3rd sg. is sometimes reduced to *-t*, e.g. *dian-t aimm*, and sometimes disappears, e.g. *arín, in, nach*. After *amal* 'as' persons which have no special relative forms prefix *no*, e.g. sg. 1 and 2 *no-n-da*, pl. 1 *no-n-dan*, 2 *no-n-dad*, but 3rd sg. *amal as<sup>n</sup>*, 3rd pl. *amal ata<sup>n</sup>*.

After the negative *ná* in leniting relative sentences, sg. 3 *nád*, pl. 3 *natat*; in nasalizing relative sentences sg. 3 *nant*, *nand*, *nan*, *nát*, *nat*, pl. 3 *nandat*, *natat*: with *ce-ni* 'although not' and *ma-ni* 'if not' 3rd sg. *cenid*, *manid*.

The (a) forms are from  $\sqrt{stā}$  with the exception of the 3rd sg. where *ní* (geminating)  $< *nīs < nīst < *ne est$ : in the (b) forms the *-d-* is an infixed pronoun, and the archaic forms *-d-em*, *-d-ed*, *-d-et* show that they do not belong to  $\sqrt{stā}$ , but to  $\sqrt{es}$ . The change in the termination of the 1st pl. *tam*  $<$  *tan* is due to the influence of the infixed pronoun of the 1st pl.

## 205. Consuetudinal Present.

Only the 3rd sg. *bi* (with short *ĩ* as distinct from 3rd sg. conj. of subst. verb); e.g. *nī-pi gláe*, *nī-pi cian* 'it does not be clear,' 'it does not be long,' *com-bi discipul* 'so that he becomes a disciple, *com-bi dias mór* 'so that it becomes a great ear.'

## 206. Future.

	absolute.	conjunct.
Sg. 1	<i>be</i>	
3	<i>bid, bith</i>	<i>-ba, -pa</i>
rel.	<i>bes, bas</i>	
Pl. 1	<i>bemmi, bimmi, bami</i>	
3	<i>bit</i>	<i>-bat, -pat</i>
rel.	<i>beta</i>	

## 207. Future Preterite.

Sg. 3. abs. *bed*, conj. *-bad, -pad*; pl. 3rd conj. *-btis, -ptis*, with infixed rel. pronoun *romdis*  $< *ro-m-bdis$ .

## 208. Preterite and Imperfect.

absolute.	conjunct.
Sg. 1 <i>basa</i>	- <i>bsa</i> , - <i>psa</i> , - <i>sa</i>
2 ( <i>basa</i> )	(- <i>bsa</i> ), - <i>sa</i>
3 <i>ba</i>	- <i>bo</i> , - <i>po</i> , - <i>bu</i> , - <i>pu</i>
rel. <i>ba</i>	
Pl. 1 ( <i>bammar</i> )	<i>bommar</i> , - <i>bummar</i>
3 <i>batir</i> , <i>batar</i>	- <i>btar</i> , - <i>ptar</i> , - <i>tar</i> , - <i>dar</i>
rel. <i>batar</i>	

*cia* (*ce*) takes the conjunct forms, e.g., *cia-bo*, *cia-ptar*.

Some forms are much disguised owing to phonetic changes, e.g. sg. 1 *rom bithbéu* where *rom*=*rom-b*, 2 *romsa*=*ro-m-b-sa*, pl. 3 *romtar*, *comtar*=*ro-m-btar*, *con-btar*: the -*sa* of sg. 1 and 2 is the emphatic particle. The 3rd sg. abs. and conj. is used also in a conditional sense.

## 209. IMPERATIVE.

	Pl. 1 <i>ban</i> , <i>baán</i>
Sg. 2 <i>ba</i>	2 <i>bad</i> , <i>bed</i>
3 <i>bed</i> , <i>bad</i>	3 <i>bat</i> .

## SUBJUNCTIVE.

### 210. Present.

absolute	conjunct
Sg. 1 <i>ba</i>	- <i>ba</i>
2 <i>ba</i>	- <i>ba</i>
3 <i>ba</i> ( <i>bá</i> )	{ - <i>b</i> , - <i>p</i> , - <i>dib</i> , - <i>clip</i>
rel. <i>bes</i> , <i>bas</i>	{ - <i>bo</i> , - <i>po</i>
Pl. 1 not found	- <i>ban</i>
2 <i>bede</i>	- <i>bad</i>
3 not found	- <i>bat</i>
rel. <i>bete</i> , <i>beta</i> , <i>bata</i> .	

Before the conjunct forms *mani* and *ara<sup>n</sup>* usually become shortened to *main*, *ar<sup>n</sup>*, e.g. *main-ba*, *arm-ba* < \**arn-ba*;

before the 3rd sg. *ara*<sup>n</sup> becomes *ari*<sup>n</sup>, e.g. *arimp*, *airndip* < \**airin-p*, *arin-dip*; *co*<sup>n</sup> becomes *com* except before 3rd sg. e.g. *comba*, *combad*, and the forms may be written phonetically, e.g. *comman* = *com-ban*. The form of the 3rd sg. *-dib*, *-dip* is used after *ara*<sup>n</sup>, *co*<sup>n</sup>, *i*<sup>n</sup> 'in which,' and sometimes after *in* (interrog.) and *na* e.g. *arn-dip*, *con-dib*, *in-dib*, *in-dip*, *na-dip*; the form *-b*, *-p* is used after *ro*, *in*, *ni*, *na*, *ce* (interrog.) and *sechi* 'whoever,' e.g. *rob*, *rop*; *imb*, *imp*; *nib*, *nip*; *nab*, *naip*; *cib*, *sechip*: further *ro-po*, *cor-bu* < \**co*<sup>n</sup>-*ro-bu*, *ni-bo*; with *bés* 'perhaps,' *bés-u*, *bés-o*; with *cía* 'although,' and *ma* 'if' s.g. 3 *cíd*, *cith*, *ced*, *ceith*, *mad*, pl. 3 *cit*, *mat*.

## 211.

## Preterite.

	absolute	conjunct
Sg. 1	not found	<i>-bin</i> , <i>-benn</i>
2	not found	<i>-ptha</i>
3	} <i>bid</i> , <i>bed</i> , <i>bad</i>	<i>-bad</i> , <i>-bed</i>
rel.		
Pl. 1	<i>bemmis</i> , <i>bimmis</i>	<i>-bimmis</i>
3	<i>bitis</i> , <i>betis</i>	<i>-bdis</i> , <i>-ptis</i> , ( <i>-dis</i> , <i>-tis</i> ).

Examples: *com-bin* or *commin*, *ni-pttha* *main-bad*, *comnimmis*, *coniptis*, *comtis*, *airmdis* or *ardis*: with *cía* and *ma* sg. 3 *cíd*, *mad*, pl. 3 *matís*.

## 212.

Other compounds from  $\sqrt{\text{stá}}$ .

(*ar-tá*) rel. *ara-thá* 'which is left'; *di-tá* = Lat. *distare* 'stands apart,' 'differs,' e.g. *di-taam* gl. on *distamus*, *ni-di-thát* 'they do not differ': *tes-ta* < *do-es-ta* 'is wanting,' 'is lacking.'

## 213. Further Forms used as Verbs of Existence.

1. **Adcomnicc** < \**ad-com-dn-icc* (lit. 'it happened') used as copula: this form is used with infixed pronouns to express existence, e.g. *Setanta atomchomnaic-se* (< \**ad-dom-chom-n-ic*) 'I am Setanta'; (later) *atancomnaig* 'we are.'



2. **Dicoissin, docoissin**: an impersonal form used relatively in the sense of 'is,' 'exists' (subst. verb), e.g. *amal do-n-coisin* 'as we are' *arnab uilib cumactib dicoissin in nim* 'for all the powers that exist in heaven,' *cech rann neirt duchoissin* 'every part of strength that there is,' *cis lir baird docuisin* 'how many (kinds of) bards are there?'

3. **Dixnigur** < \**di-coissin-igur*: a deponent formed from *dicoissin*; it is used both as subst. verb and copula, e.g. *in-dixnigedar* '(inest) 'there is there' *nad n-dixnigedar nech* 'that there is no one,' *clá hé nu-n-dixnaighther su* 'who thou art' (as copula).

4. **Rondgab**: *ro*-preterite of *gaibim* with infixed pronoun 3 sg. n. (as subst. verb): form used in nasalizing relative sentences, e.g. *céin ron(d)·gabús i carcair* 'while I am in prison,' *amal rond·gab* 'as he is,' *is follus rund·gabsat* 'it is clear that they are.'

## 214.

## DEFECTIVE VERBS.

There are several verbs which, like the verb 'to be,' construct their forms from more than one root: cf. Lat. *fero, tuli, latum*; Gk. *φέρω, οἶσω, ἤνεγκα*; Eng. *go, went*. In the following list they are arranged in alphabetical order according to the initial letter of their present stems.

**berid** 'bears': as a simple verb has no *ro*-forms, it employs instead a weak verb *ro·uccai, ruccai*, pl. *·rucat*, pret. ind. sg. 1 *ro·uiccús*, 3 *ro·uicc*, *ro·uc*, *·ruc*, pl. *·ruccsat*, pass. *ro·ucad*, *·rucad*, pl. *ro·uctha, ructha*, subj. *·rucca*, pret. subj. pass. *·ructhae*, pl. *·ructais*; also in the compound *tremi·beir* 'bears over,' *ro*-pret. pass. *tremi·rucad*.

*do·beir* 'brings,' 'gives': prototon. *·tabair*, fut. *tibéra*; *ro*-forms, (a) in the sense of 'bring,' *do·uccai, tuccai*, pass. *·tucthar*, pret. ind. *du·uic*, *tuicc*, *tuc*, pl. *tuccsat*, pass. *tucad*, subj. *·tucca*, imp. *tuic*; (b) in the sense of 'give,' *do·rati*, pret. ind. sg. 1 *do·ratus*, 2 *do·ratais*, 3 *do·rat* prototon. *·tarat*, pl. 1 *do·ratsam*, 2 *do·ratsid*, 3 *do·ratsat* prototon. *·tartsat* and *·tartisset*, pass. *do·ratad*: prototon.

*·tardad*, pl. *do-rata*, prototon. *·tarta*, subj. *do-rata*, pass *·tartar*: the compounds *as-beir* and *ar-beir* have *ro*-forms

*ad·cí* 'sees': prototon. *·aicci*, sg. 1 *ad·cíu*, pl. *ad·ciat*, pass. *ad·cíther*, prototon. *·accastar*, fut. (*ad·cichi*), pass. *ad·cichestar*, pret. pass. *ad·cess*, subj. *ad·cear*, 3 prototon. *·accadar* (*·accathar*), pass. *ad·cether*, prototon. *·accastar*, pret. subj. *ad·ceth* (*·ced*): in the pret. act. for the *ro*-form it employs  $\sqrt{\text{derk}}$ , *ad·con·dairc*, narrative pret. *con·accae*, pres. pass. with *ro*- of possibility *ad·ro·darcar*: *do·éi·cí* < \**de-en-ci* 'looks at' has the usual *ro*-forms, e.g. pret. 3rd pl. *do·r·écatar*, subj. sg. 2 *·de-r-caither*: *fris·accai* < \**frith-ad-ci* 'hopes' has movable *ro*, e.g. pret. 3rd pl. *fris·racatar*, *ni·ru·frescachtar*.

*·cuirethar* 'puts' 'throws': subj. *·corathar*, imp. sg. 2 *cuirthe* and *cuire*, pl. *cuirid*; the absolute forms are supplied by *fo·ceird* (v. Table of strong verbs); the *ro*-forms are supplied by *ro·la-*, e.g. pret. ind. *ro·lá*, prototon. *·ralae*, pl. *·ralsat*, *·rolsat*, pass. *ro·laad*, prototon. *·ralad*, *·rolad*, subj. sg. 1 *·ral*, 3 *·rala*: the compound *do·cuirethar* in the sense 'takes to himself,' 'adopts,' has *ro*-forms and a fut. e.g. *do·ro·chuirsemmar*, *do·cuirifar*, but in the sense 'throws away' perf. pass. *do·ralad*, fut. pret. *do·foíchred* < \**do·fo-cichred* (*fo·ceird*).

*fo·gaib* 'finds': subj. *fo·gaba*, fut. *fo·géba*; but pret. *fo·fuair*, prototon. *fuair*, pass. *fo·frith*, prototon. *·frith*.

*con·icc* 'is able,' in the forms in which the stem loses the principal accent *icc* gives place to  $\sqrt{\text{ong-}}$  and *con·* to *com·*, e.g. pres. ind. sg. 1 *con·icimm*, 3 *con·icc*, pl. *con·ecat*, prototon. sg. 1 *·cumgain* (*·cumcu*), 3 *·cumaing*, *·cumuing*, pl. *·cumgat*, *·cumcat*; fut. sg. 1 *con·icub*, prototon. *·cumgub*, fut. pret. *con·icfed*, prototon. *·cumcaibed*; pret. *con·ánacuir*, prototon. *·cómnacuir*: subj. *con·í*, prototon. *·cumai*, *·cum*, pret. pl. 1 *con·ísmis*, prototon. *·cuimsimmis*: *do·ecmaing* < \**to-en-com-ong-* 'happens' makes pl. *do·ecmungat*, prototon. *tecmingat*, pret. *teccomnacuir*, subj. pret. *do·ecmoised*; *for·comnacuir* 'has come about,' subj. pret. *for·cuimsed*.

**ithid** 'eats': subj. *·estar*, fut. pret. pl. 3 *·istais*, part pass. *eisse*,  $\sqrt{\text{ed-}}$ ; pret. *·doïd*, *·duaid*, pl. 3 *do·feotar*.  $\sqrt{\text{ued}}$ , redupl. *·ue-uad*.

**téit**, conj. *·tét*: from  $\sqrt{\text{steigh}}$  pres. sg. 1 *·tiagu*, *·tiag*, pl. 3 *tiagait*, *·tiagat*, impf. *·téged*, pres. pass. *·tiagar*, imp. sg. 1 *tiag*, *tiach* pl. 1 *tiagam*, 3 *tiagat*, pass. *tiagar*, subj. *·téis*, *·téi*, pl. *·tíasat*, pret. subj. *·tésed*:  $\sqrt{\text{reg}}$ , imp. sg. 2 *eirg*, pl. 2 (later) *ergid*; fut. *·rega*, *·riga*, fut. pret. *·regad*:  $\sqrt{\text{lud}}$  (cf. Gk. ἡλυθον), pret. *·luid*, pl. *lotar*:  $\sqrt{\text{ei}}$  (cf. Gk. εἶμι, Lat. *e-o*, Skr. *ē-mi*), pass. *ethae*: the *ro*-forms are constructed from  $\sqrt{\text{ued}}$  with the preps. *de* and *com*, subj. and fut. *do·coí* < \**de·com-uadst*, prototon. *·decha*, *·dich*, *·dig*, pl. 1 *·dechsam*, pret. subj. and fut. pl. *do·coístis*, prototon. *·dechsaitis*, *·dichsitis*, pret. ind. sg. 1 and 2 *do·coad*, *·cood*, prototon. *·dechud*, 3 *do·coïd*, prototon. *·dechuid*, pl. 1 *·dechommar*, 2 *·digtith*, 3 *·docotar*, *·dechutar*: the compound *do·tét* 'comes' is conjugated like the simple verb, but the prototon. forms become sg. 1 *·taig*, *·táeg*, 3 *·tait*, pl. *·taigat*, sub. sg. 1 *·taís*, 3 *·taí*, fut. *·terga*, *·tinga*, pret. ind. pl. *·tultatar*; *ro*-forms prototon. pret. sg. 1 *·tuidched*, pl. *·tuidchetar*, subj. *·tuidig*, pret. *·tuidchissed*, pl. 1 *·tuichesmais* < *·tuidchesmais*: imp. sg. 2 *tair* ( $\sqrt{\text{reth-}}$ ), Welsh *tyred*. Further compounds are \**ind-od-tét* 'goes in,' pres. pl. 3 *in·otgat*, fut. as in subj. pl. 3 *in·otsat*, narr. pret. *in·olaid*, perf. *in·riúalaid*; *im·tét* 'goes round,' narr. pret. pl. 3 rel. *imme·lotar*, perf. pl. 3 *im·ruldatar*, fut. with *com-* sg. 3 *con·imthae*; *con·é-tét* < \**com-en-tét* 'is indulgent to,' prototon. *·cométig* pl. 2 *con·éitgid*, imp. sg. 3 *·coméitged*, subj. sg. 2 *·coméitis*, 3 *con·éit*; *for-tét* 'helps' and *remi-tét* 'goes before,' are conjugated like the simple verb.

*do·tuit*, later *do·fuit*, 'falls': prototon. *·tuit*, pl. *·tuitet*, pass. *·tuiter*, subj. sg. 1 *do·ro-thuusa*, 3 *·toth*, pl. 1 *·torthissem*, 3 *·todsat*, *·totsat*, fut. *do·toeth*; pret. formed from *do·cer*, with *ro*, *do·ro-chair*, prototon. *·torchar*, *·torchair*.

## TABLE OF STRONG VERBS.

The forms are given in the 3rd sg. except when otherwise noted; the principal parts are present indicative (absolute and conjunct), present subjunctive, future indicative, future indicative active, preterite indicative passive, verbal noun. The order is alphabetical, and compound verbs have their preverbs in parentheses.

\* 3rd pl. † 2nd sing. ‡ perf. § 1st. sg. 1 = pret. 2 = pass. 3 = rel. 4 with *com* = \* *com-  
lelag*. 5 with *ad* = *ad-raig*, *ad-racht*. 6 narrative pret.

Pres. Indic.	Meaning.	Subj.	Future	Preterite	Pret. Pass.	V. noun
<i>alid</i> , <i>·ail</i>	nourishes	<i>·ala</i>	<i>·ebla</i>	<i>·alt</i>	<i>·alt</i>	<i>altran</i>
<i>aingid</i> , <i>·anich</i> ( <i>ba-</i> )	protects	<i>·ain</i>	<i>·ain</i>	<i>·anacht</i>	<i>·anacht</i>	<i>anacul</i>
<i>benaid</i> , <i>·ben</i>	dies	<i>·baa</i>	<i>·bebae</i>	<i>·bebae</i>	—	<i>bás</i>
<i>bongid</i> , <i>·boing</i>	strikes	<i>·bia</i>	<i>·bia</i>	<i>·bí</i>	<i>·bíth</i>	<i>béinnm</i>
<i>canid</i> , <i>·cain</i>	breaks	<i>·bó</i>	<i>·bíbsa</i>	<i>·bobig</i>	<i>·bocht</i>	<i>buain</i>
<i>celid</i> , <i>·ceil</i>	sings	<i>·cana</i>	<i>·cechna</i>	<i>·cechain</i>	<i>·cét</i>	<i>cétal</i>
<i>·ceird</i> ( <i>fo</i> )	conceals	<i>·cela</i>	<i>·céla</i>	<i>·celt</i>	<i>·cleth</i>	<i>cleith</i>
<i>cingid</i> , <i>·cing</i>	throws	<i>·cenn</i>	<i>·cicheir</i>	<i>·caird</i>	<i>·cress</i>	<i>cor</i>
	steps	<i>·cíasat</i> *	<i>·cích</i>	<i>·cechaing</i>	—	<i>céimn</i>

<i>claidid, claid</i>	digs	(·clá)	·cichlas §	·cechlaid	·class	<i>claide</i>
· <i>clainethar</i> (ro)	hears	·cloathar	·cechlader	·cuallae	·closs	<i>cluas</i>
· <i>coat</i> (ar)	injures	·col	·chol	—	·chós	<i>erchoat</i>
<i>crenaid, cren</i>	buys	·cria	—	·chuir	·crith	<i>creicc</i> (D)
· <i>chrim</i> (ara)	perishes	—	·chúrat *	·chúir	—	<i>inche</i>
· <i>daim</i> (fo)	suffers	·dama	·didma	·damair	·dét	<i>soitriu</i>
· <i>ding</i> (for)	oppresses	·dlasat *	—	·dedaig	(·dach)	—
<i>dligid</i>	owes	·dlé	—	·dligestar	·dlecht	<i>dliged</i>
· <i>em</i> (do)	protects	·ema	·éma	·ét	·ét	<i>dátiu</i>
<i>fedid</i>	guides	·fé	—	·fidetar *	—	<i>fedan</i>
· <i>fét</i> (ad)	tells	·fé	·fi	·cuaid †	·fess	<i>scél</i>
· <i>fich</i> (do)	avenges	·fessed †	·fi	<u>·cuaid</u> †	·ruacht †	<i>dígal</i>
· <i>fitir</i> (ro)	knows	·festar	·fiastar	—	—	<i>finss</i>
<i>gaibid, gaib</i>	takes	·gaba	·géba	·gab	·gabad	<i>gabál</i>
· <i>gainethar</i>	is born	·genathar	·gignethar	·génair	—	<i>gein</i>
· <i>gair</i> (fris)	answers	·gara	·géra	·rogant †	·rograd †	<i>freerae</i>

TABLE OF STRONG VERBS—continued.

Pres. Indic.	Meaning.	Subj.	Future	Preterite	Passive	V. noun
·gní (do)	does	·gné	·géna	·géni	·gnúth	déanam
·gnín (assa)	recognizes	·gnoithir <sup>2</sup>	·géna	·géin	—	ecne
·greinn (ad, in)	persecutes	·gré	—	·roígrainn†	—	ingreim
gníid, ·gníid	prays	·gé	·gig	·gáid	·gess	gníde
·ibí, ·ib	drinks	·eba	·íba	·ib, as·ib†	—	óul (D)
·ic (t)	comes	tí	ticfeá	tánaic	—	tíchtu
·laimethar (ro)	dares	—	·lilmathar	·lámair	—	létiu
lenaid, ·len	follows	—	·lilí	·lil	—	lenamon
lingí, ·ling	leaps	lías <sup>3</sup>	—	·leblaing	—	léimn
·loing (fo)	supports	·lós	·lil	·cóemallag <sup>4</sup>	·lachtae	·filach, -ang
maíid, ·maíid	breaks	·má	·mema	·memaid	—	maídn
(marraí)	betrays	·mera	·méra	·mert	—	mrath
meíid, ·meíid	grinds	·mela	·mela	·melt	·mleth	mlíth



	judges	mestar	niastar	mldair	mess	mess
midithir	thinks	menathar	moinfethar	ménair	mét	toimtiu
neut (ar)	I expect	—	—	neestar	—	idnaide
orcaid, oirc	slays	·orr	·iorr	·ort	·ort	orcun
renaid, ren	sells	·ria	·riri	·rir	·rith	reicc (D)
(per-)	grants	·era	·ebra	·er	·rath	rath
rethid, reith	runs	·ré	·ré	·ráith	—	rúth
·rig (do-é-)	deserts	·ér	·ér	·éracht	·éracht	dérge
·rig (con)	binds	·rias §	·riris†	·árraig <sup>5</sup>	·áracht <sup>5</sup>	cúnnrech
saidid	sits	seiss	seiss	siassar, <sup>6</sup>	—	suide
saigid, saig	aims at	·sá	·sia	·siacht	—	saigid
sim (does) / sem	sheds	·eismen	·esséma	·r-eisset†	·r-eisset†	teistiu
seinn (do)	drives	·ses §	·sib	·sephainn	—	tofann (D)
·slig (fo)	bosmeats	·sléi	—	·selaig	·millecht†	—
teichid, teich	flee	·té	·té	·táich	—	teched
tongid, tong	swears	·tó	·tithis†	·tethaig	—	laige

## VIII.—THE PREPOSITIONS.

**215.** The forms of some prepositions vary according to position (i.e. accented or unaccented). Thurneysen (Hb. § 812) distinguishes four principal positions :

**A** accented, compounded with nouns or verbs.

**B** unaccented, proclitic before a deuteroton. verb. form.

**C** unaccented, proclitic before their case.

**D** accented, with suffixed personal pronouns.

Similarity of function or accentuation has caused many analogical changes, **D** being influenced by **C**, **A** (in verbal compounds) by **B**, and **B** by **C**.

**216.** *ad* 'to,' Lat. *ad*.

**A.** *ad* (= *að*) : before vowels and original *u* (which becomes *β*), e.g. *ad-amrae* 'wonderful,' *do-ad-bat* 'shews'; the *d* becomes assimilated to *b*, *c*, *d*, *g*, *n*, *s*, *t*, e.g. *apaig* < \**ad-baig* (*bongid* 'reaps') 'ripe,' *·acci* < \**ad-cí* 'sees,' *ataim* (*t* = *d*) < \**ad-daim* 'concedes,' *acre* < \**ad-gaire* 'suing,' *ammus* < \**ad-mess* 'attempt,' *do·aisselbi* < \**ad-selbi* 'assigns,' *atrab* < \**ad-treb* 'dwelling': before *l*, *n*, *r* it becomes *á*, e.g. *fo·álgim* < \**ad-logim* 'I cast down,' *áinsem* < \**ad-ness* 'accusation,' *áram* < \**ad-rím* 'number': *ad* + *od* > *aud* in *audbirt* (A. sg.) 'sacrifice' (from *ad·opuir* < \**ad-od-ber*.) later *edbart*, *idbart*.

**B.** *ad* : even before consonants, e.g. *ad·rími* 'reckons,' *ad·cobra* 'wishes,' *ad·midethar* 'attempts,' the assimilation of *ad* + *s* > *ass* has caused it to become confused with the prep. *as* (*ess*), hence forms like *as·roilli* beside *ad·roilli*; before the infixed pron. 3rd. sg. in relative construction *as* frequently replaces *ad*, e.g. *as·id·ciam* (*ad·ctú*).

**C. D.** *ad* is only used in nominal and verbal compounds, before nouns and suffixed pronouns it is replaced by *co* (v § 222).

**217.** *air*, (*er*, *ir*, &c.) Lat. *por-*, Gk. *παρά*, *πάρ*.

**A.** *air* with palatal *r* or *er*, *ir* with unpalatal *r*, e.g. *airdiric* or *erdaire* 'conspicuous, famous'; before *r*(*o*)

usually *ar*, e.g. *t-ar-r-chet* but also *t-air-r-chet* 'has been prophesied'; before *od* and *fo* it becomes *aur-*, e.g. *aururas* < \**air-od-* or *air-fo-* + *ress-* 'running, haste.'

**B.** *ar*, e.g. *ar-ic* 'finds,' *ar-gair* 'forbids,' *ar-beir* 'expresses'; in relative sentences usually *ara*, e.g. *ara-thá* 'which is left.'

**C.** *ar'*, with the dative and accusative.

**D.** only with the accusative; for forms see § 90.

### 217a meanings of *ar*.

(a) **before**, e.g. *ar súil* 'before the eye,' *ar menmuir* 'before the mind.'

(b) **for**, e.g. *ar lóg* 'for reward,' *ar chairi* 'for a reproach.'

(c) **on account of**, e.g. *ar formut* 'on account of envy,' *ar chroich críst* 'on account of the cross of Christ,' *airi* 'on that account.'

(d) **from**, e.g. *sotrad ar guasacht* 'deliverance from danger,' *arcelith ar chách* 'ye take away from every one.'

(e) **in the place of**, representing, e.g. *deich míli briathar ar labrad ilbéire*, "ten thousand words" for "speaking many tongues".

### 218. *aith* 'again, re-' Lat. *at*, Welsh *at*.

**A.** *aith'* and *aid'*: e.g. *aithgne* or *aidgne* 'recognition'; sometimes *ath*, *ad* before a non-palatal anlaut, e.g. *ath-chumtach* 'reconstruction,' *t-ath-áir* 'blame'; with assimilation before a following dental *atairbert* < \**aith-to-airbert*: an older form occurs in *aithe-sc* 'answer,' cf. Gaulish *Ate-gnatus*.

**B.** *ad*, e.g. *ad-gainemmar* 'we are born again'; with assimilation *atairbir* < \**aith-to-air-bir*.

**C. D.** do not occur.

### 219 *cen* 'without.'

**C.** with accusative (leniting), e.g. *cen chaille* 'without a veil.'

**D.** with suffixed pronouns, see § 89.

*h*

### 219a. further meanings of *cen*.

(a) **apart from**, e.g. *atá brithem and cenut-su* 'there is a judge there apart from thee.'

(b) **not**, with a verbal noun, e.g. *cen dílgud* 'not to forgive,' *cen chomáinad* 'not to fulfil.'

### 220. *cenmíthá* 'except, besides.'

This is a compound of *cen* in the form *cenmí* (cf. *remí, tremí*) + *-tá* 'is.'

**C.** with accusative: *cenmíthá étrad* 'except lust,' *cenmíthá in n-aimmí* 'except the nom.,' also *cenmíthá, cenmá*, e.g. *cenmíthá in tegdais n-ucut* 'besides yonder house,' *cenmá in n-aimmí*.

### 221. *cét-* 'with,' Gk. *κατά*, Welsh *can(t)*.

Only in compounds with the substantive verb.

**A.** *cét-*, e.g. *cétbuid* < \**cét-buith* 'sense,' (Welsh *canfod*).

**B.** *ceta, cita*, e.g. *ceta-bí* 'perceives, experiences,' perf. sg. I *cita-ro-ba*.

### 222. *co*, Welsh *py*.

**C.** *co<sup>g</sup>* (*cu*) with accusative, e.g. *co-llae* 'until the day,' *co-sin* 'to the.'

↳ **D.** see § 89. **A. B.** replaced by *ad*.

### 222a. meanings of *co*.

(a) **until**, e.g. *co Críst* 'until Christ,' *cossa laa-sa* 'until this day.'

(b) **to**, e.g. *ní téit co fer n-aile* 'goes not to another man,' *donicfad cucunn* 'that he would come to us.'

(c) **duration**, e.g. *cí* *co h-óir* 'even for an hour.'

(d) **extent**, e.g. *is co burpi asbéram na aill* 'it is unto stupidity that we shall say something else.'

### 223. *com* 'with,' Lat. *com-*, *co-*, *cum*.

**A.** *com* (*m = μ*): before vowels and *l, n, r*; sometimes *cum* when the following vowel is *i, e, or u*, e.g. *com-airle*

\*advice,' *comalnaithir* 'fulfils,' *cuim-rech* 'bond,' *cumang* 'power,' *cumtach* < \**com-ud-dach* 'building'; *com-imm* becomes *coímm*, e.g. *colmthecht* 'accompanying,' *coíma* < \**com-ema* 'protect,' *com-imm-aircide* 'competens' is a new formation.

Before the other consonants *con* (*com* bef. *b*): e.g. *combach* 'breaking,' (v.n. of *con-boing*), *condelg* 'comparison,' *congnam* 'helps.'

Before *c* and *t*: *co<sup>n</sup>*, e.g. *cocad* (sounded *cog-*) < \**com-cath* 'warfare,' *cutrummus* (sounded *cud-*) < \**com-trummus*, *cocart* < \**com-cert* 'correct!'; before *s*: *co<sup>n</sup>*, e.g. *cosmil* < \**com-samil* 'like'; before *f* (original *u*): *co*, *cu*, with loss of *m*, e.g. *ad-cuaid* < \**com-uid-* 'has told,' *do-coid* < \**com-uid-* 'has gone,' but also *b* ( $\beta$ ) < *m-u-* e.g. *cubus* < \**com-fius* 'conscience,' *cubaid* < \**com-fid* 'harmonious.' In later compounds the form *com* is found before all consonants except *m* and *b*, e.g. *com-thinól* 'gathering,' *com-chétbuid* 'consensus,' *com-suidigud* 'composition,' the lenition is analogical.

**B.** *con*: *con-airleci* 'permits,' *con-boing* 'breaks,' *con-certat* 'they correct,' *con-dieig* 'seeks.'

**C.** *co<sup>n</sup>* (*cu*) with dative, e.g. *co n-acarbi* 'with bitterness,' *co fáilti* (*f* =  $\beta$ ) 'with joy.'

**D.** it is not joined to suffixed pronouns; its place is supplied by *la*.

## 224. *di, de*, Lat. *de*.

**A.** *dí* before consonants (*de* before non-palatal *ch* and before *r(o)*), e.g. *dí-gal* 'vengeance,' *dí-thrub* 'wilderness,' but *de-chor* 'difference,' *dermat* < \**de-ro-mét* 'forgetting,' also *dénun*, *déni* < \**de-gnum de-gni*.

*di* before vowels, e.g. *di-all* 'declension,' *dé* in later coinings as equivalents for Lat. e.g. *dé-ainmneichte* 'denominativum,' *de-chomsuidigthe* 'decomposita': *d* before *é*, e.g. *déce* (*di-en-*), *dérig* (*di-ess-*), but *dtiu* < \**dt-étiu*: with *fo* it becomes *dú* < \**de-uo*, but also remains as in *diunag* (*di-fo-nig-*) possibly after the analogy of *di-ud-* as in *diupart* < \**di-ud-bert*.

**B.** *do, du* : e.g. *do-gní* 'does,' *do-ella* 'declines,' *do-fomuch* 'I wash off'; but also as in **A**, e.g. *di-roghad* or *do-roghad*, *de-meccin*, *di-meccither* beside *do-mmeiccither*.

**C.** *di, de*, e.g. *di chorp* 'de corpore,' *de Iudéib* 'of the Jews'; also as in **B**, e.g. *bec n-do síd* 'little of peace.'

**D.** see § 88.

## 224a

meanings of *di*.

(a) **as ablative**, e.g. *di cach leith* 'from every side,' *di posit* 'from the positive.'

(b) **origin or material**, e.g. *is di lus do-gnither in chorcor buide* 'it is from a plant that the yellow purple is made.'

(c) **concerning**, e.g. *di chárachtraib* 'about letters,' *di laithiu brátho* 'concerning the day of judgment.'

(d) **partitive genitive**, e.g. *intí no-chreitifed diúb* 'he of them who should believe,' *is becc pridchimme-ni di rúnaib Dae* 'it is little we preach of the mysteries of God' *di geintib do Thit* 'Titus was of the Gentiles,' *do-rat mór di maid duín* 'He has given us much of good.'

(e) **causal**, e.g. *di bar n-téc* 'because of your salvation,' *ar napat toirsich di-m-chuimregaib-se* 'lest they be sad because of my bonds.'

(f) **instrumental**, e.g. *co-tob-sechfider di chose* 'ye will be corrected by a correction,' *di thorud ar láam* 'by the fruit of our hands,' for *de* with the comparative of adjs v. § 77.

## 225.

**echtar** 'outside,' Lat. *extra*.

**A.** only in nominal compounds, e.g. *echtar-geinde* 'alienigena, uit-lander.'

**C.** with accusative. e.g. Tur. 108, *extra quod fuimus*, gl. *echtar comairbirt mbiuth pecthae hirobammár* 'outside the practice of the sins wherein we had been,' *echtar recht* 'outside the law.'

Also with accusative **s-echtar** (motion outwards), e.g. *sechtar in degdais (tegdais)* 'out of the house.'

**D.** not found.



226. *ess* < \**eks* 'out,' Lat. *ex*, Gk. *ἐξ*.

A. *es-* (*ess-*) before vowels and *c*, *s*, *t*, e.g. *ess-éirge* 'resurrection,' *ess-amín* 'fearless,' *es-carrae* 'enemy,' *t-es-sim* 'pour out!' *t-es-ta* 'is wanting'; also *as* from the influence of B, e.g. *aisndts*, *aisndet* after the analogy of *as-indet*.

Before the other consonants \**eks* is reduced to \**ek* and the usual phonetic changes follow: e.g. with assimilation to following voiced stops, *ecal* (*c=gg*) < \**ek-gal* 'fear,' *epert* (*p=bb*) < \**ek-bert* 'saying.' Before *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* it becomes *é*, e.g. *é-lud* 'escape,' *for-é-mid* 'he cannot,' *é-nirt* 'weak,' *é-ricc* 'payment.' In later formations *es-*, e.g. *es-bae* like *t-es-buith* from *testa*, *es-rechtaid* 'exlex.'

B. *as-* (*ass-*), e.g. *as-beir* 'says,' *ass-éirset* 'they will rise again,' *as-ren* 'pays out': rel. sometimes *assa-* which spreads to non-rel. forms as *asa-gninim* 'I recognize. It is frequently confused with *ad-*, e.g. *apir* < \**ad-bir* instead of *epir* < \**ek-bir* 'thou sayest': before infixed prons. with *d-* \**eks* becomes *at* (*add*) by assimilation *eks-d-* > *eg-d-* > *edd-* > proclitic *add-*, thus coinciding with the forms from *ad*, hence confusion of forms as *assid* (rel.) for *adid*.

C. *a<sup>u</sup>* before a noun in the dative, e.g. *a oentu* (pron. *a hoentu*) 'ex unitate,' *allatin* 'from (the) Latin,' *ammedón* 'out of the midst': *ass* before proclitics as the art. and prons., e.g. *as mo chuimrigib* 'out of my bonds,' *ass a thóib* 'out of his side,' *as ind fetarlaici* 'out of the Old Testament,' *as cech sét* 'from every road.'

D. see § 88. The form *assa<sup>u</sup>* used with comparatives (v. § 77) is probably *ass* + *a* poss. pron., thus *bit messa assa-mmessa* (Wb. 30 c 25) would mean lit. 'they will become worse out of their worse' (Bergin).

227. *eter, etar*, Lat. *inter*.

A. *etar* before consonants, e.g. *etar-gne* 'knowledge,' *etar-cert* (twice *eter-*) 'interpretation'; in later glosses also leniting, e.g. *etar-thothaim* 'downfall'; before a vowel *etr-* in *etr-antach* 'intermittent.'

**B.** usually *eter*, later *etir*, rarely *itir*, e.g. *eter-certa* 'interprets,' *etir-gén* 'I recognised': before infixed prons. *etar-*.

**C.** with accusative, *eter*, *iter*, *etir*, later *etar*, *itar*.

**D.** see § 89: with *imm*, *imma n-etar*, *immetar* 'in turn.'

### 227a. meanings of *etar*.

(a) **between**, e.g. *eter Dia ocus duine* 'between God and man,' *dechur eter corpu nemdi 7 corpu talmadi* 'difference between heavenly bodies and earthly bodies.'

(b) **among**, e.g. *óentu eter baullu* 'unity among members,' *eter tuaith* 'among lay-folk.'

(c) **both** (...and), e.g. *eter soir 7 doir*, *eter mug 7 comdid* 'both free and unfree, both servant and lord.'

(d) **at all**, *amal ní bimmis fiu ní etir* 'as if we were not worth anything at all.'

228. *fiad* 'in presence of,' (√ *yid-*) cf. Eng. *wit-ness*.

**C.** *fiad*, with dative, e.g. *fiad chách* 'in the presence of all,' *fiad doínib* 'before men': later with accusative e.g. *fiad rígu* 'before kings.'

**D.** with suffixed prons. pl. 2 *fiadib*, 3 *fiadaib*.

229. *fo* < \**yo* < \**upo*, Gk. *ὑπό*, Skr. *úpa*.

**A.** *fo*, *fu*, before consonants, e.g. *fo-chraicc* 'reward,' *fu-dumain* 'deep': in initial after *ad*, *ad-b-lam* (*b* = *β*) < \**ad-fo-lam* 'ready.'

Before vowels *fo* + *o* > *fó*, *fua*; *fo* + *a* > *fá*; *fo* + *i* > *foí*, *fóe*; e.g. *fuairc* < \**fo-oirc*, *fácaib* < \**fo-ad-gaib*, *foindel* < \**fo-ind-*, *foim* < \**fo-em-*: in later formations *fo* remains before a vowel, e.g. *fo-ammamugud* < \**fo-ad-mám-* 'subjugation.'

Owing to the disappearance of lenited *f* in prototon. forms like *tuairc*, *immolngi* (deuteron. *do-fuairc*, *im-folngi*) *f* sometimes appears analogically in deuteron. forms, e.g. *do-d-fongad* instead of *no-d-tongad* 'who used to swear it,' *du-fuit* instead of *do-tuit* 'falls.'

**B.** *fa*, *fu*: e.g. *fo·dain* 'suffers,' *fo·fera* 'prepares,' *fo·acanim* 'succino'; before a vowel sometimes as in **A**, e.g. *fácab* for *fo·ácab*.

**C.** *fo*, *fu* with dative and accusative, e.g. (with dat.) *fo·chétoir* 'at once,' *fo pheccad* 'under sin,' (with acc.) *fo smachtu* 'under commands.' With the art. *fon*, *fun*, **A.** n. *fua*, **A.** pl. *fonna*.

**D.** see § 90.

### 229a. meanings of *fo*.

(a) with acc. **motion towards, or into**, e.g. *re techt fo bathis* 'before coming under baptism,' *intí tête fo recht n-indibe* 'he who goes under the law of circumcision.'

(b) with dat. '**under**,' e.g. *fo a chossaib* 'under his feet,' *fo deud* 'at last': for use with numerals v. § 82.

**230.** *for* < \**uper*, Gk. *ὑπέρ*, Lat. *super*.

**A.** *for* (*fur*) before both vowels and consonants, in later glosses with lenition as in *for·chenn* 'end.'

**B.** *for*, *far*, *fur*, e.g. *for·tét*, *far·cuimsitis*, *fur·aith-minter*.

**C.** *for* (*for*) with dative and accusative: **D.** v. § 90.

The regular development \**uper* > \**uer* is found in Gaulish *Ver·cingetorix*, but in Welsh and Breton *gor*- and Irish *for* the vowel has changed to *o* under the influence of *go*-, *fo*-.

### meanings of *for*

**230a.** With accusative.

(a) **beyond**, e.g. *nach-a-telcid fuirib* 'do not let them (go) past you.'

(b) **upon** (with sense of *descending upon*), usually with *do·biur*, e.g. *do·beir dígail fort* 'inflicts punishment upon thee,' similarly *do·beir maldachtin*, *dimiccin*, *breith*, &c., *for nech*.

(c) With verbs of motion or implying motion to indicate **terminus**, e.g. *techt innar corp for nem* 'to go in our body to heaven,' *ní far cuairt parche do-coid* 'not on a diocesan visitation has he gone'; similarly **point of attack**, e.g. *gebaid in scol for aréili* 'one school will attack another.'

## 230b.

With dative.

(a) **on** (*resting on*), e.g. *cen chaille for a ciunn* 'without a veil on her head,' *for altóir ind ídil* 'on the altar of the idol.'

(b) **according to**, e.g. *hilar neutair for cétnu diull* 'a neuter plural according to the first declension,' *far n-óen-deilb* 'according to the same paradigm.'

231. **frith** < \**urt*, Lat. *vertere*, *versus*, Eng. *-wards*.

A. *frith* (< *frid*) before vowels, e.g. *frith-orcon* 'offence,' *frid-oirced* 3rd sg. imp. : with a preposition beginning with a vowel it coalesces in the form of *fres-*, e.g. *fresciu* < \**frith-ad-cesu*. Before consonants, the final dental assimilates to the consonant of the anlaut, e.g. *frecre* (c = gg) < \**frith-gaire* 'answer,' *frendaire* < \**frith-con-dere* 'present': at a later stage *frith* remains unchanged before consonants and causes lenition, e.g. *frith-chathugud* 'op-pugnatio.'

B. *friss*, *fris*, e.g. *fris-accat* 'they hope,' *fris-gair* 'answers.'

C. *fri*<sup>g</sup>, (sometimes *ri* = *fri*) with accusative, e.g. *fri-nnech*.

D. see § 89.

## 231a.

**meanings of frith**

(a) **to(wards)**, e.g. *do-cotar fri tola in betho* 'they are gone to the desires of the world,' *fri déicsin maith* 'to-wards seeing good.'

(b) **for** (*purpose*), e.g. *fri cumtach n-ecolso* 'for the edification of the Church,' *fri biathad na forcitlaide* 'for the support of the teachers.'

(c) **attitude towards**, e.g. *bad fuairrech cách fri alaile* 'let every one be gentle towards the other,' *is córe doib friú-sí* 'it is peace to them towards you.'

(d) **against**, e.g. *ní asse tuidecht fri toil Dé* 'it is not easy to go against the will of God,' *int immormus do-gnither friú-som* 'the sin that is committed against them.'

(e) to express **similarity, dissimilarity, or contrariety**, e.g. *cosmil fri cethir* 'like unto a beast,' *cotarsne fri Dia* 'opposed to God,' *samaltir fri laithe* 'is compared to a day,' *a dechur fri sacartu fétarlicce* 'his difference from the priests of the old law.'

(f) **along with**, e.g. *co ro-rannam a orpe fri Críst* 'that we may share his heritage with Christ,' *congní fri* 'works together with, helps.'

(g) **with** = 'from', *scaraid fri* 'parts with,' *ar nach-it-rindarpither frisin fíriní* 'lest thou be cast away from the righteousness.'

(h) **to**, with verbs of *addressing, adding, giving, listening*, e.g. *is friú asberar* 'it is to them is said,' *cía do-berthar flumen friss* 'that flumen is added to it,' *anál as friss ro-airptha* 'as it is to him that they have been entrusted,' *éitset frisin precept* 'let them listen to the preaching.'

(i) **with reference to**, e.g. *ní fris rúchét* 'it was not with reference to it that it was sung,' *sain fri cath sain fri scor* 'different for battle, different for unyoking.'

(j) **at, in**, e.g. *fri dei* 'in the day time,' *ní bethe fri a acre* 'ye should not be complaining of it (lit. 'at its complaining),' *fri debuid* 'at strife.'

## 232.

*íar, íarm-.*

**A.** *íar-* and *íarm-* e.g. *íar-thuaiscerddach* 'north-west,' *íarm-uídigthe* = *íarm-suídigthe* 'postposita,' *íarm-ua* 'abnepos.'

**B.** *íarmi* rel. *íarma*, e.g. *íarmi-foig* 'asks,' *íarma-foich*.

The ending in *iar-mi* is probably after the analogy of *remi*.

**C.** *iar*<sup>n</sup> with dative e.g. *iar n-dligud*, *iar n-etargnu*.

**D.** see § 88.

### 232a. meanings of *iar*.

(a) **after** (of time), e.g. *iar n-esséirgu* 'after resurrection,' *iar m-baithius* 'after baptism.'

(b) **along**, e.g. *int uisque iarsin ganim* 'the water along the sand.'

(c) **according to**, e.g. *iarsin dligud* 'according to the law,' *iar colinn* 'according to the flesh.'

### 233. *imm*, *imb* < \**mbhi*, Gk. ἀμφί, Lat. *amb*-.

**A.** the older form *imb* is frequently retained before vowels, *f*, *r*, e.g. *imb-echtrach* 'exterior,' *imb-rádud* 'meditation,' *imbide* < \**imb-fethe* 'hedged in:' *imb* + *s* becomes *imp*, e.g. *impúd* < \**imb-soud* 'turning': before consonants *im(m)*, e.g. *im-cháinti* 'mutual complaints,' *im-thrénuget* 'confirming.'

**B.** *im(m)*, rel. *imme*, *imma*, e.g. *im-rádi* 'meditates,' *im-sol* 'turns,' *immerádi* or *imma-rádi* 'who meditates.'

**C.** *im(m)* with accusative e.g. *im chenn na sacardd* 'around the head of the priests.'

**D.** see § 89.

### 233a. meanings of *imm*.

(a) **round about**, e.g. *criss firinne immib* 'a girdle of truth around you,' *im chenn* 'around the head.'

(b) **concerning**, e.g. *im dethidnea* 'concerning anxieties' *an-as-biur im chosmuliis ind fiadnissi* 'what I say concerning the likeness of the testimony.'

(c) **for** (with verbs of desiring), e.g. (ingemiscimus) *im-min bidbethid* '(we groan) for the life eternal,' *an-no-n-geiss cách imm-a-chomalnad* 'when thou beseechest everyone for its fulfilment.'



234. *in, ind* < \**en, eni, end*, Gk. *ἐν ἐνί*, Lat. *in, indu-*.

A Before vowels usually *ind-*, e.g. *ind-arbe* 'expulsion,' *ind-ocbál* 'glory,' but also *in*, e.g. *do-in-ó-la* 'collects.'

Before consonants *en* and *in* (*ind'*), e.g. *engne* 'cognition'; before *c* and *t* *en* becomes *é*, e.g. *con-é-tét* < \**con-en-tét* 'connives at'; *do-é-ci* < \**do-en-ci* 'looks at'; the *n* is assimilated to *l, r, s*, e.g. *ellach* < \**enlach* 'union,' *eirred* (G. of *eirr* 'warrior who fights from a chariot') < \**en-red*, *dessid* < \**d-en-sid* 'has sat down'; before *c* the *e* is short in some cases, e.g. *tecosc* < \**to-en-cosc* 'teaching,' *do-ecmaing* < \**en-com-ong-*, probably after the analogy of compounds with the form *in* which have short *i* like *tinchosc* < \**to-in-chosc* (Thurn.). the forms *in'* < \**ini*, *ind'* < \**inde* can only be distinguished before *s*, *ind+s* becoming *int*, e.g. *intamail* or *intsamail* < \**ind-samail* 'imitation, but *insuidigthe* < \**ini-suidigthe*: before *r* the usual form is *ind-*, e.g. *ind-red* 'invasion,' before the other consonants both forms appear as *in-*, e.g. *ingen* (*g=γ*) < *ini-gena* (Ogham) 'daughter,' but *in-chosc* 'meaning' may stand for either \**ini-chosc* or \**inde-chosc*.

B. *in*, e.g. *in-greinn* 'persecutes' *in-dlung* 'I divide'; its place is frequently taken by *ad* or *as*, e.g. *ad-greinn*, *as-dloing*; this is partly due to the fact that before infixed pronouns the form of *ad*, *in* and *ess* are alike, and partly because compounds with the different prepositions had a very similar meaning (Thurn.).

C. *i<sup>n</sup>* with dat. and acc. e.g. *i n-áiritiu* 'in the reception,' *i mbélre* 'into a language,' with gemination *illestur* 'in a vessel,' *innin* 'in heaven,' hence perhaps later *inn-* also before vowels, e.g. *innainsir* 'in the time.'

D. see § 90.

### 234a. meanings of *in*.

With dat. *in* (of **place**), e.g. *indium* 'in me,' *iccach lucc* 'in every place'; (of **time**) *isind aimsir sin* 'at that time,' *hi cach láo* 'every day'; with accusative *into*, e.g. *i cride* 'into the heart.'

*ís* 'under' v. § 88.

235. *la* < \*less < \*lets.

The oldest form is *le*, which becomes proclitic *la*; Thurn. derives it from *leth* 'side.'

C. *la*<sup>g</sup> with accusative e.g. *lammaccu* 'with sons.'

D. see § 89.

235a. meanings of *la*.

(a) **possession**, e.g. *it lib uili* 'they are all yours,' *it les ind angil* 'His are the angels.'

(b) **in the opinion of**, e.g. *ní mebul lemm* 'I do not consider it a shame,' *is demniu linn* 'we deem it more certain'; also **to**, e.g. *is glé limm* 'it is clear to me.'

(c) **among** (Lat. *apud*), e.g. *la Grécu* 'among the Greeks,' *la auctoru* 'apud auctores.'

(d) **agent**, e.g. *dó-géntar leiss* 'will be wrought by him,' *conróacht la Duaid* 'which was built by David.'

(e) **along with**, e.g. *proind less hi taig* 'eating with him in a house,' *lammarbu* 'along with the dead.'

(f) **ethical dative**, e.g. *déce lat Corintiu* 'look thou at the Corinthians.'

236. *ó, úa*, Lat. *au*.

Two distinct prepositions have become confused: (a) \**od*, \**ud* corresponding to Skr. *ud*, Eng. *out*, and (b) \**ō* corresponding to Lat. *au* in *au-fero*; the form *uad* < \**o* + *od*, found before the 3rd pers. of the pronouns and in later newly formed compounds, is an admixture of both forms (Thurn. who now suggests \**uks* or \**uds* as ground form).

A. Before consonants *ō<sup>a</sup>*, *ū<sup>a</sup>*, e.g. *opad* = *obbad* < \**od-bad* 'refusal' *uccu* < \**ud-gu* 'choice' (*ócbál* has *ó* from the influence of *tócbál*), *ad-opuir* < \**ad-od-beir* 'sacrifices,' *con-utain* < \**ud-daing* 'builds': *fo*, *ro*, *to*, + *ō* > *fó*, *ró*, *tó* (*tua*), e.g. *fócre* < \**fo-od-gaire* 'proclamation,' *rótacht* < \**ro-od-dacht*; in *tuasulcud*, *tuaslucud* there is a confusion of two prepositions, viz. \**to-od-léic*- and *to-ess-léic* (cf. pret. *as-oile* < \**ess-od-léic*-†, *tócbál* < \**to-od-gabál* 'raising');

† Thurn. now takes *oile* as root; *as* being for proclitic *uss* (*uks* or *uds*), and *tuasulcud* = *to-uss-oile*.

in two old compounds, *topur* < \**to-od-ber-*? 'well' and *tosach* < \**to-od-siag-* 'beginning' the *to* is reduced to *t-* and no lengthening takes place: before *l*, *r* it appears as *ó*, *úa*, e.g. *do-in-ó-la*, *túargab* < \**to-od-ro-gáb-* 'has raised.' Owing to a confusion with lenited *fó*, in deuteroton. forms *f* appear analogically restored from prototon. forms, e.g. prototon. *·tuisim* < \**to-ud-sem-*, deuteroton. *do·fuisim* instead of \**do·uisim*.

In new compounds it appears as *úad*, e.g. *úad-fíalichthe* (*f=f*?) 're-velatus,' *huatuasailthae* < \**úad-t-* 'absolutus'; in one word *úa'* viz. *hua-béla* 'open-mouthed.'

**B.** examples uncertain.

**C.** *ó*, *úa'* with dative, e.g. *ó thossuch* 'from the begining,' *húa imbiud* 'from the abundance.'

**D.** see § 88.

### 236a. meanings of *ó*.

(a) **separation from**, e.g. *ó soilsi etarcni Dé* 'away from the light of the knowledge of God,' *mug luide hua Abracham* 'a slave who went from Abraham.'

(b) **origin or material**, e.g. *is úadib Críst* 'Christ is (sprung) from them,' *ó ilballaib* 'of many members.'

(c) **agent**, e.g. *no-oirthe ó popul* 'used to be killed by the people,' *forcantar hó sacardd* 'are taught by a priest.'

(d) **instrument**, e.g. *hua sílib* 'by means of the eyes,' *ó bélib* 'with the lips,' *huan bás* 'by the death.'

(e) **cause**, e.g. *ón deserce brathardi* 'from brotherly love,' *ho amiris* 'from unbelief.'

(f) **in**, e.g. *Iudide ó écosc* 'a Jew in appearance,' *ó béssaib* 'in customs.'

(g) **for, from** (of time), e.g. *hó aimsir* 'for a time,' *ó Adam* 'from the time of Adam.'

(h) **partitive** (only with suffixed pronouns), e.g. *nech úaib-si* 'one of you,' *cách uan-ni* 'each one of us.'

237.

*oc* < \**aggu-* 'at.'

A longer form *ocu* is found proclitic before verbal forms. **A. & B.** only in the verb *ocu-ben* 'touches' in which forms of the subst. verb are confused with forms of *benaid*, e.g. fut. 3rd pl. *ocu-biat*, pass. sg. *ocu-bether*, perf. *occu-ro-bae*, pres. pass. 3rd pl. *ocu-bendar*, prototon. *ocmanatar*, verbal noun \**ocmaid*, G. *ocmaide*; in the prototon. forms the *b* of the root is changed to *m* (=  $\mu$ ) probably under the influence of the prep. *com* in forms like *ecmaing* (Thurn.).

**C.** *oc. occ* (*uc, ucc, ac, ic*) with dative, e.g. *oc tuiste* 'at the creation,' *uc scí Pátric* 'at Patrick's white-thorn,' *soir oc tintuúth* 'skilled at translating,' *trén oc tecmallad* 'mighty at gathering'; with a verbal noun and the subst. verb to form a continuous tense, present or past, e.g. *bluu-sa oc irbáig* 'I am wont to be glorying,' *is oc precept soscéli attó* 'it is preaching the Gospel that I am,' *ce-rud-bóí occ a thindnacul-som* 'though he was delivering Him up.'

**D.** see § 88.

238.

*os* < \**ōks* 'above.'

**C.** *ós, úas* with dative, later leniting e.g. *uasum* 'above me,' *huas gréin* 'above the sun,' *huas litrib* 'over letters'; metaphorically *ós cech anmimm* 'above every name.'

**D.** see § 88.

239.

*rem-*, *re* < \**prisami*, cf. Lat. *primus* < \**prīsmos* (Thurn.) 'before.'

**A.** *rem*, e.g. *rem-suidigud* 'preposition,' *rem-thechtas* 'precession.'

**B.** *remi*, rel. *reme* e.g. *remi-suidigddis* 'they used to place it before,' *remi-taat* 'praesunt,' rel. *reme-n-uicsed* gl. on *prae-optare*.

**C.** *re<sup>n</sup> (ri)*, later *ría<sup>n</sup>*, with dative; e.g. *re n-airite gráid* 'before receiving orders,' *ri techt* (i.e. *decht*) 'before going,' *re mbás* 'before death.'

**D.** see § 88.

240.

*ro* < \**pro*.(For *ro* as verbal particle v. §§ 103-105).

**A.** *ro'*, *ru'*. Before adjs. it means 'too,' cf. Gk. *πρό-κακος*, e.g. *ro-már* (*m* = *μ*) 'too great,' *ro-ólach* 'too fond of drinking,' bef. verbs *ro-ig* (for *ro-sig*) 'reaches.' Before vowels the *o* is dropped, e.g. *·ri-c* 'reaches,' but is retained in the *ro*-subj. of *dí-em*, e.g. *·deróíma*. In the pret. of *do·gní* and *do·shuindi* it becomes *ri* under the influence of the vocalization of the prototon. narr. forms, e.g. *do·rigéni* after *·digéni*, *do·riltiset* after *díltiset*; before the verb *léicid* it becomes *re*, e.g. *·reilced* (deuteroton. *ro·léiced*).

Between retained consonants in the syllable immediately after the accent it becomes *-ar* from *r*, e.g. *t-ind-ar-scan* < \**t-ind-r-scan* < \**to-ind-ro-scan*.

**B.** *ro*, *ru*, e.g. *ro·saig* 'reaches to.' Prototon. forms are sometimes found instead of deuteroton, e.g. *riccu*, *rucad* besides *ro·iccu*, *ro·ucad*.

**C. D.** not found.

241.

*sech*, Lat. *secus*.

The proclitic forms *sechmo*-, *sechmi*- are after the analogy of *iarmu*-, *iarmi*-, &c.

**A. and B.**, only with verbs of motion; e.g. *sechmo·ella* 'passes by' (with *ó* 'is wanting'), prototon. *·sechmalla*.

**C.** with accusative, e.g. *sech cách* 'beyond every one.'

**D.** see § 89.

241a,

meanings of *sech*.

(a) **beyond**, e.g. *sech mo chomáes-sa* 'beyond my coevals,' *sech in n-aimsir* 'beyond the time.'

(b) **rather than**, e.g. *ceit leu precept domsa seccu* 'they are jealous that I preach rather than they.'

(c) **contrary to**, e.g. *sech comairli Dé* 'contrary to the counsel of God.'

242. **tar, dar** < \**tares*, Skr. *tīrāh*.

A. *tairm*<sup>-</sup> (*tarm*<sup>-</sup>), e.g. *tairm-thecht* 'transgression,' *tairm-chosal* 'prevaricatio'; longer form in *tairme scc* 'hindrance.'

B. *tarmi*, e.g. *tarmi-berar* 'is transferred,' but it is usually replaced by *tremi* (v. § 244), e.g. *tremi-berar*.

C. *tar, dar*, with accusative, e.g. *tar crích* 'over the territory.'

D. see § 89. With the suffixed prons. of the 3rd pers. *tairse*, *tairsiu* the original final *s* reappears.

242a. **meanings of tar.**

(a) **across, over**, e.g. *tar crích*, *tar rosc* 'over the eye.'

(b) **by** (in swearing), e.g. *tar Ioib* 'by Jupiter,' *du-cuitig tarais fadeissin* 'He sware by Himself.'

243. **to, do** 'to.'

(From the demonstrative stem *to-* (Thurn.)).

A. *to*<sup>'</sup>, *tu*<sup>'</sup>, e.g. *to-thaim* 'fall,' *to-chmarc* 'wooing'; when the following syllable contains *a*, also *ta-*, e.g. *tabair*, *·tarat*, < *do-beir*, *do-rat*; in *·terga*, *·tirga* the vowel change is due to the influence of the deuteroton. forms *do-rega*, *do-riga*; in *teilciud*, *telcid*, &c., from *do-léici* the change is probably due to confusion with an old compound *to-en-léic-* (Thurn.). *ti* in *·ti-béra* 'will give' is explained as due to the analogy of the redupl. fut. (Thurn.) or of *·digén* (Bergin). Before vowels *t-*, e.g. *t-ic* 'comes,' and before other preps. with vocalic anlaut, e.g. *·t-ad-*, *·t-ess-*, *t-imm-*; but with *od* it usually appears as *tó* (*túa*): *to-fó-*, *to-for-* > *tó-*, *tór*, e.g. *tó-be* (*to-fó-ben-*), *tórmach* (*to-for-mag-*) *do* only appears in later artificial compounds, e.g. *do-briathar* 'ad-verb,' *do-acaldmach* 'appellativus.'



**B.** (For archaic *tu, to*, v. Introd.)

From Wb. onwards *do, du*, e.g. *do·tuit* 'falls, *du·tét* 'comes': before vowels sometimes A as well as B, e.g. *tad·bat* beside *do·adbat* 'shows.'

**C.** *do', du'*, with dative, e.g. *do chath* 'to battle,' *do thaidbsiu* 'to show.'

**D.** see § 88.

### 243a.

#### Meanings of *to, do*.

(a) **aim**: e.g. *do dénum maith* 'to doing good,' *do thabirt díglae* 'with a view to inflicting punishment.'

(b) **agent**: *a fulang dom-sa* 'their suffering to me = I had to suffer them,' *airitiu colno dō Chríst* 'the taking of flesh by Christ,' *ní dénti dúib-si* 'it should not be done by you.'

(c) **state**: e.g. *de Iudeib do Barnaíp* 'Barnabas was of Jewish origin,' *ní samlaíd sòn dúin-ni* 'it is not so with us.'

### 243. b. *tri, tre* < \**trējont* (Thurn.).

(The form *tremi, trimi*, after analogy of *remi*.)

**A.** *trem'*, e.g. *trem-feidligud* (*f=f'*) 'permanence,' *trem-amairesach* 'perfidus.'

**B.** *tremi, trimi*, rel. *treme*, examples rare, e.g. *trimi ·berar*, *treme·thait* 'which penetrates': in *tris·gataim* 'I bore through' it follows the analogy of *fri, fris*.

**C.** *tri', tre'*, with accusative, e.g. *tri chretim* 'through faith,' *tri thabairt* 'through giving'; with the article *trisin*, *trisna*, &c.; with the rel. particle *tresa*".

**D.** see § 89.

### 243c.

#### Meanings of *tri*.

(a) **through**: e.g. *tri scáath* 'per speculum,' *tri themel* 'through darkness.'

(b) **instrument**: e.g. *tri bathis* 'by means of baptism,' *is beo ind anim tri sodin* 'the soul is thereby alive,' *tri thorad mo precepte* 'by the fruit of my teaching.'

(c) **cause:** *tre thairmtheact recto* 'by reason of transgression of the Law,' *is marb in corp trisna senpecthu* 'the body is dead because of the old sins.'

**244.** (s)**amal** 'like, as,' cf. Lat. *similis*.

The form *amal* (proclitic with loss of initial s, v. § 24) is in origin an adverbial dative of *samail* 'similitude' (Thurn.). It is included among the prepositions because it takes the accusative and suffixed pronouns.

**C.** *amal*, e.g. *amal chlanda* 'as children,' *amal cho-chull* 'like a covering.'

**D.** accented with s-, see § 89.

## 245. Examples of compounds with several prepositions.

<i>atairbir</i> < * <b>aith-to-air</b> -beir	'brings again.'
<i>irócre</i> < * <b>air-fo-od</b> -gaire	'command.'
<i>comacomol</i> < * <b>com-ad-com</b> -l	'conjunction.'
<i>comthururus</i> < * <b>com-to-air-fo</b> -reth-	'incursion.'
<i>dorécacha</i> < * <b>di-ro-en</b> -c-	'has seen.'
<i>etartetarcur</i> < * <b>etar-to-etar</b> -cur	'intercession.'
<i>fristinfet</i> < * <b>frith-to-ind</b> -fet	'blows against.'
<i>intimcélfam</i> < * <b>imb-to-imb</b> -c-	'we shall surround.'
<i>intinscanna</i> < * <b>ind-to-ind</b> -scann-	'begins.'
<i>tiarmóracht</i> < <b>to-iarmo-fo</b> -r-	'following.'

## 246. Nominal Prepositions (with genitive of noun and possessive pronoun).

<i>i n-arrad</i> 'with.'	<i>i n-degaid</i> ( <i>dígaid</i> ) 'after.'
<i>ar bélaib</i> 'before.'	<i>dég</i> ( <i>d'féch</i> ) 'on account of.'
<i>fo bíth</i> ( <i>fu bíthin</i> ) 'because of.'	<i>dochum</i> <sup>n</sup> 'to.'
<i>ar chenn</i> 'to meet.'	<i>do éis</i> '(remaining) behind.'
<i>tar cenn</i> 'instead of.'	<i>tar ési</i> 'after, in place of.'
<i>ar chiunn</i> 'before, awaiting.'	<i>i n-ellug</i> ( <i>elluch</i> ) 'united with.'
<i>di chiunn</i> 'away.'	<i>a persin</i> 'in the person of, as to.'
<i>ar chuit</i> 'as regards, as to.'	<i>a rainn</i> 'as regards.'
<i>for cúlu</i> 'back, backward.'	<i>di ráith</i> 'in place of.'
<i>i n-dead</i> ( <i>díad</i> ) 'after.'	

## IX.—THE CONJUNCTIONS.

247.

**Copulative.**

(a) **acus' oculus'** (*oculis*), later is: 'and'; in origin connected with the adj. *acus*, *oculus* 'near': **etir**—*oculus* = 'both—and.'

(b) **emith—emith**, or *emid*—*emid*: (W. *heuyt*, *hefyd* O.H.G. *samet*), used to translate the Lat. *tam*—*quam*; e.g. *emid du-scéula*, *emid ara-n-égea*: it is derived from  $\sqrt{\text{sem}}$  and cognate with Gk. *ἀμα* and Lat. *semel*, *simul*; cf. Lat. use of *simul*—*simul*, e.g. *simul spernebant*, *simul metuebant*.

(c) **sceo** (W. *heibio* from  $\sqrt{\text{seq}}$  'to follow') 'and,' a poetic word common in "rhetorics."

248.

**Disjunctive.**

(a) **no'**, *no'*, *nu'*: 'or,' e.g. *dá preceptóir no thrii*: *no* < \**no-ye* < \**ne-ye* (cf. Lat. *neve*) originally meant 'or not.'

(b) **robo**, **rodbo** 'either, or'; in origin a potential *ro*-Subj. (Thurn.), the *d* in *rodbo* being probably an infixed pronoun.

(c) **fa**, **ba** 'or' v. § 101.

249.

**Temporal.**

(a) **in tain**, *in tan*, (lit. 'at the time'): 'when' e.g. *in tain mbís* 'when it is,' *in tan du-rainngert Dia* 'when God promised.'

(b) **nach tan**: 'whenever,' e.g. *nach tan ro-n-ecat a les* 'whenever they need it.'

(c) **dia<sup>n</sup>**: 'when' (with the narr. pret.) e.g. *dia-luid David for longais* 'when David went into exile.'

(d) **a<sup>n</sup>**: neg. *anna*, with *ro* > *arru*, *anru*; e.g. *an-no-n-derbid* 'when you prove,' *am-bas cete* 'when it is sung,' *ana-taibrem* 'when we give not,' *arru-cestaigser* 'when thou disputedst.'

(e) **la-se** (lit. 'with this'): 'when,' e.g. *lasse ad-n-elliub* 'when I shall visit'; also 'whereas,' e.g. *lase foruillecta*

*beóil in chalich di mil cosse anall* 'whereas hitherto the lips of the chalice have been smeared with honey.'

(f) **céin, céine** (acc. and gen. of *cían*): 'so long as, whilst,' e.g. *céin bas béo in fer* 'so long as the man (husband) lives,' *céine no-soife-siú* 'so long as thou turnest.'

(g) **ó** and **ua<sup>n</sup>** (= *ó + a<sup>n</sup>*): 'since,' with perf. 'after,' e.g. *ho luíd Adam tar réir* 'since Adam transgressed the will (of God)', *huar-erbirmis biúth* gl. on 'ex illo tempore quo degebamus,' *ó ad-cuaid* 'after he has declared,' (*ad-cuaid* = perf. of *ad-fét*): possibly *ó* with the copula is contained in *os mé*, &c., 'I, as for me, &c.,' 3rd pl. *ot é*, from *ó-is mé*, *ó-it é* (Thurn.).

(h) **íarsindí**: 'after,' e.g. *íarsindí batir inricci du báas* 'after they were worthy of death,' *íarsindí ba mane moch riam* 'after it was mane "early" before.'

(i) **resú, risú** (lit. 'before this'): 'before' with *ro*-subj., e.g. *resú rís-sa* 'before I come,' *risú ro-cloammar* 'before we hear.'

(j) **co<sup>n</sup>** (= *co + a<sup>n</sup>*): neg. *conná, connách*, 'until'; e.g. *con-tánicc lex* 'until the law came,' *co-tí in fír-brithem* (*tí = dtí*) 'until the true judge come': after negative sentences, with *ro*-subj., e.g. *corruc-sa do chen-su* (*corruc = con-ro-uc*) 'until I bring thy head.'

## 250.

## Final.

(a) **ara<sup>n</sup>** (= *ar + a<sup>n</sup>*): neg. *arná, arnacon*. 'in order that': e.g. *ara-n-dernaid an-do-gniam ní 7 arna-dernaid an-nad denam-ní* 'that ye may do what we do, and that ye may not do what we do not'; also as explicative, e.g. *asbered friú ar-a-n-gnéis degnímu* 'he used to tell them to do good deeds.'

(b) **co'**: 'in order that,' e.g. *co etercerta* 'that he may interpret'; neg. *coní etarscarthar* 'that it be not separated.'

(c) **co<sup>n</sup>**: 'in order that,' e.g. *co-n-dena degním* 'that he do good deeds': neg. *connách-moídea nech* 'lest any one should boast': also explicative, e.g. *asberat com-bad* 'they say that it would be.'

(d) **abamin** (*afameinn*), with pret. subj. without *ro*: 'would that,' e.g. *abamin for-n-aidminte* 'would that thou wouldst call to mind':

The origin of the forms is obscure: I suggest that *abamin* (*afameinn*) is an exclamatory phrase = *á bad amin*, i.e. the exclamation *á* 'O!' found only with the vocative case of nouns (except in the Latinism *a thussu*), *bad* or *fad* the 3rd sg. either of the imperative or of the pret. subj. of the copula, and *amin*, *amein*, *amein-se* 'thus, so'; the phrase meaning lit. 'O that it were so!' the form *afamenad* (*affamenad*) used with a past tense has in addition another form of the copula *-ad* = *id* (cf. *mad*) and means lit. 'O that it were so it had been!' For the reduction *fad amin* > *famin* cf. *fodesin* > *féin*: the forms with *ff* show that the *f* was unlenited, and the form *afomensa* (Meyer Contribb.) = *á fad amen-se*. For a very similar phrase with the same meaning cf. Welsh *O na bai! O na byddai! O na buasai!* (past); cf. also *olisamein* §§ 252, 257.

**dano, dono**, archaic *daniu*, *daneu*: 'then,' corresponding in use to Lat. *ergo, igitur*; e.g. *cía dono* 'who then,' *ní cech fér dana* 'it is not every grass then.'

**didiu** < \**di súidiu*: 'then, accordingly, e.g. *is lour dín didiu creitem incholnictho* 'belief in the incarnation, then, is sufficient for us.'

**trá**: 'then, therefore,' e.g. *anísíu trá is écen* 'this, then, is necessary,' *is follus a sin trá* 'it is evident from this then.'

## 251.

### Conditional.

**ma, má**, usually leniting, neg. *mani*: 'if, if not': with the ind. when the condition is present or past e.g. *ma chomalnit a ngrád* 'if they fulfil their orders,' *ma ru-d-choiscset a mmuintir* 'if they have corrected their household': with the subj. if future, e.g. *mani pridag* 'unless I (shall) preach,' *mani airgara rect* 'unless the law (shall) forbid'; with the pret. subj. if the condition be imaginary or doubtful, e.g. *matís tuicsi* 'if they had been elect (but they were not).'



**dia**<sup>n</sup>: 'if,' with subj., e.g. *dia comalnammar a pred-chimme* 'if we fulfil what we preach,' *ní lour in bendachad dia-mmaldachae* 'blessing is not enough if thou curse.'

**acht** (*act*): 'provided that,' with *ro-* subj., e.g. *acht as-robarthar in ní* 'provided the month be mentioned,' *acht ropo i tuil Déa* 'provided it be in God's will': neg. with subj. without *ro-*, e.g. *act ní bed uall and* 'provided there were no pride therein,' *act ní arbarat biuth inna tuari* 'provided they do not partake of the food.'

## 252.

## Causal.

**óre**, *hóre*, *huare* Gt. sg. of (*h*)uar=*hōra*, originally temporal like Eng. 'since': 'because,' e.g. *huare rocreitset* 'because they have believed,' *hóre no-n-dob-mol-or-sa* 'because I praise you.'

**fo bíth**: 'because,' e.g. *fu bíth do-n-gníat cercol* 'because they make a circle,' *fo bíth is nephchorpdae sòn* 'that is because it is incorporeal.'

**dég**: 'because,' e.g. *dég ro-m-bu écn-daircc* 'because he was absent,' *dég ro-bói in spiurt nóib less* 'because the Holy Spirit was with him.'

**ol**: 'because,' only in the phrase *ol is amein* 'because it is so.'

**ar, air**: 'for, because,' Lat. *nam*, e.g. *ar is di lus do-gníther* 'for it is from an herb it is made,' *airi* 'on that account.'

**sech**: 'yet, although' (originally 'besides that'), e.g. *sech is óen-spirut fot-dáli* 'yet it is one spirit distributes it,' *sech ba foirbthe a íres síd* 'although his faith was perfect,' *sech ba huaisliu inti for-chongair* 'although he who orders were superior': in Ml. *sech is*, *sech it* are also used in the explanatory sense of 'that is, i.e.' with or without a following *sòn* or *ón*, e.g. *sech is ilaigfe sòn* 'i.e. Thou wilt multiply,' *sech is mescaigfider ón* 'i.e. Thou wilt intoxicate,' *sech it gnímai sòn* 'i.e. the deeds,' *sech is mo chois* 'i.e. my foot': for *sech ní* v. § 101.



## 253.

## Adversative.

**cammaib**, *cammaiph*, *cammaif* (*camaí* Wh. 3 d 8), < *camm-oíph* lit. 'false appearance' (Thurn.): 'still, notwithstanding': e.g. *is samlið cammaib ataidsi* 'it is thus, however, that ye are,' *d-a-géna cammaib* 'he will do it, however,' *camaiph thechtait ainmnidi* 'nevertheless, they have nominatives,' Sg. 209 b 3a, here *camaiph* causes lenition.

**immurgu** < \**im-ro-gáu* 'a great falsehood'? (suggested by Thurn.), cf. Mid. I. *immair-bréc*, and Lat. *hau-d* which is cognate, originally then a strong contradictory: used like Lat. *autem*; e.g. *is beo ind anim, is marb in corp immurgu* 'the soul is alive, but the body is dead,' *ní thuCCI no menme immurgu* 'but my mind does not understand it'; along with *camaiph*, e.g. *rocruthaigsemmat camaiph immurgu óen cháractar* 'we have formed nevertheless one character'; with *noch*, e.g. *noch immurgu ní rolsat* 'still notwithstanding they did not cast away.'

**noch**: 'but, yet,' used like Lat. *tamen*, *attamen*; e.g. *amal no-bed, noch ní fail* 'as if it were, yet it is not'; with *ém*, *ám*, e.g. *noch ém am Israhélde* 'although indeed I am an Israelite,' *noch ám fo-dáli cenél* 'but still it distinguishes gender'; *noch* is also in Ml. = 'that is,' cf. *sech is*.

**ém**, **ám**: 'indeed however,' e.g. *riccub-sa ém* 'I will come however,' *do-gníam ám* 'we indeed make.'

**acht** (*act*): 'but, except that'; e.g. *ní delb adrorsat, act is commulius delbe* 'it is not an image that they have adored, but it is the likeness of an image,' *ro-légsat canóin fetarlaici ocus nuftadnissi amal ru-n-da-légsam-ni, acht ro-n-da-sáibset-som* 'they have read the Canon of the Old Testament and of the New Testament as we have read it, except that they have perverted it'; with an extension of the latter meaning e.g. *ní rádat-som acht bréic* 'they speak only lies': with *nammá*, e.g. *acht comparit neutair nammá* 'but the neuter comparative only,' *acht nammá* (gl. on *nisi forte*) 'save only.'

**inge**, 'except'; e.g. *in tan bas rann int sillab* 'except when the syllable is a part (of speech),' *inge mad etar-scartha* 'unless it be separated'

**calléic**, *calléice* (< \**cen* + *léiciud* = 'without leaving off?'): 'still, even'; e.g. *no-n-anich Dúa calléic* 'God protects us still,' *ammi fáilti calléic* in tribulationibus 'we are joyful even in tribulationibus.'

## 254.

**Concessive.**

**cía**, **ce**: (usually leniting) before vowels *ci*, neg. *cení*, *cini*, 'although'; when used with the indicative it infixes *d* except where there is already an infixed pronoun, e.g. *cía rud·chualatar ilbéire* 'although they have heard many languages,' but *ce nus·labratar* 'although they speak them' where the *s* of the 3rd pers. pl. is infixed: like *má* it takes the subjunctive in hypothetical or doubtful cases, e.g. *ci as·bera nech* 'though any one say,' *cía du·gneid na rétu sa* 'though ye do these things': with the copula *cid*, pl. *cit*, 'though it be, even,' e.g. *cid do huair* 'even for an hour,' *cith etarsuidigthe* 'even though it be interposed,' *cit geinti* 'even Gentiles.' *cía* followed by the subjunctive with or without *ro* is used as an explicative, e.g. *ní hed no·t-beir i nem cía ba loingthech* 'it is not this that brings thee to heaven, that thou shouldest be a glutton,' *is huisse ce ru·samaltar fri Críst* 'it is right that he should be compared to Christ.'

**adas**, **adaas**, **adás**: (< \**a<sup>n</sup>* + *daas* = *taas*?) in sg. used to render an isolated Lat. *quamquam* or *quamvis*; with *ma* and *cía* 'although,' e.g. *adas cía citabé* 'etiam si persentiat,' *adas cía d-a-gnéo* 'though if I do it.'

## 255.

**Comparative.**

**amal**, **amail**: 'as'; e.g. *amal níguideas athir a macc* 'as a father beseeches his son,' *amail ass-ind-ber alaile* 'as some one says it.'

**feib**, **fib**: 'as,' e.g. *feib fond·uair som la auctoru* 'as he has found it in authors,' *fib as deg ro·pridched* 'as it has been preached best.'

**cruth**: 'how, as' (shortened from *in chruth* 'in the form, manner'), e.g. *cruth ro·pridchissem* 'how we have preached,' *cruth nandat chomsuidigthe* 'as they are not compounds.'

**inne, inni**: 'as, such as,' e.g. *inne ro·pridched dúib* 'as has been preached to you,' *inni ro·m-bátar ríam hí tempul* 'such as they were before in the temple.'

**méit**: (from *méit* 'size, extent'), 'as regards,' e.g. *méit as ndo scribund* 'as regards writing': *méit—méit* = *tantum—quantum*, e.g. *méit donindnagar fornai fochith, issé méit insin donindnagar in dlthnad* 'in proportion as suffering is bestowed upon us, so is the consolation that is bestowed': *ní hed a méit—acht* = *non solum—sed etiam*, e.g. *ní hed a méit no-n-chretid-si act fodaimid fochidí airi* 'not only do ye believe it, but ye endure sufferings therefor.'

## X.—THE ADVERBS

(For adverbs formed from adjectives v. § 78, for adverbs of place v. § 96.)

### 256.

#### of time.

**indiu** (< *in* (the art. (?) or prep. (?)) + *diu* dat. of *dia* 'day'), 'to-day.'

**indé** (< *in* (the art.) + *dé* which corresponds to W. *doe*, Gk. *χθές*, Skr. *hyah*), 'yesterday': adj. from *dé* = *déthenachde* 'hesternus.'

**innocht**, Lat. *hac nocte*, 'to-night.'

**intremdid**, W. *trennydd*, 'three days after.'

**matin** (dat.) 'in the morning.'

**indorsa, indossa** (< *ind ór sa* 'this hour'), 'now.'

**infechtsa, indechtso**, 'this time.'

**ind inaim so** 'at this time.'

**íartain** 'afterwards'; **íarum** 'afterwards'; **ríam** 'before.'

**talmaidiu** (dat. of a noun) 'suddenly.'

**aithirriuch** (dat. of *aithirrech* 'repetition') 'again.'

**tossuch** (dat. of *tossach* 'beginning') 'at first.'

**ciunn** (dat. of *cenn* 'head, end') 'at the end.'

**moch** 'early.'

**do grés** 'continually.'

**on nurid** 'from last year.'

257.

of manner.

**amin**, *amein*, *amne*: (*amin* < \**sam-sin* 'like that?'), e.g. *d-a-rigni amin* '(he) made it thus,' *is amne dognither* 'it is thus it is done,' *ol is amein* 'because it is so.'

**immalle**, *immallei* (*immellei*): < \**imm-a<sup>n</sup>-le*, *le* < *leth* 'side,' 'together.'

**immanetar**: 'inter se, invicem, in turn,' e.g. *dechur eter corpu*, *talmanci immanetar* 'a difference between earthly bodies among themselves,' *d-a-gnitis aní-sin immenetor* 'they used to do this in turn.'



## APPENDIX A.

## Loanwords.

(v. Pedersen V.G. §§ 21, 120 *seq.*, Thurn. Hb. § 904 *et seq.*)

## 258. from Britannic sources

*cáin* 'beautiful,' W. *cein*; *muirmóru* 'sirens, mermaids,' W. *morforwyn*; *foilenn* 'sea-gull,' W. *gwyllan*; *cnaí* 'fleece,' W. *cnaif*; *tremdid* 'three days after,' W. *trennyd* < \**tren-dyd*; *foich* 'wasps,' O. Bret. *guohi*, O. Corn. *guhien*; *liathritae* 'balls,' W. *llithro* 'to glide.'

## 259. from Latin

(a) Older borrowings introduced by British missionaries, and consequently showing traces of Britannic influence, such as Irish *ó* for Lat. *ā*, e.g. *altóir* 'altāre,' *Tríndóit* 'Trinitāt-,', *humaldóit* 'humilitāt-,', *póc* 'pācis' (osculum), also the ending *-óir* for *-ārius*, due to W. *allor*, *Trindod*, *ufelldod*; loss of syllables as in *stoir* 'historia,' *angraib* 'antigraphum,' *pennit* 'paenitentia,' Mid. Bret. *ster*, W. *angraiff*, *penyd*; on this model later loanwords are also formed, e.g. *oróit*, 'orātio' *eclais*, 'ecclesia,' *sacarbaicc* 'sacrificium'; the writing of *c*, *t*, *p* for *g*, *d*, *b* after vowels, and *g*, *d*, *b* for *γ*, *δ*, *β*, v § 4.

(b) Later borrowings direct from Latin writings. These are characterized:—

(1) by false quantities, e.g. *ceist* 'quaestio,' *predchid* or *pridchid* 'praedicat,' *cárachtar* 'chāraeter,' *Pátraicc* 'Pātricius,' *légaíd* 'légít' (probably under the influence of *scríbaid*, Thurn.);

(2) by retention of some final syllables, e.g. *ungae* 'uncia,' *caimmse* 'camisia,' as compared with *stoir*, *eclais* of (a);

(3) by changes due to the analogy of native words, e.g. *grád* 'grādus,' *mēsar* 'mensura,' *mebuir* 'memoria,' *saigul* (*g* = *γ*) 'saeculum,' *lebor* 'liber,' after the analogy of *grád* 'love,' *mes* 'judgment,' *mebul* 'shame,' *baigul* 'danger,' *lebor* 'long.'

## 260.

## c, s, f for p, f, v.

In old loanwords the Irish substituted *c* for *p*, *s* for *f*, and *f* for *u*, probably after the analogy of the already existing correspondence in cognate words like *macc*, W. *map*; *crann*, W. *prenn*; *srón*, W. *ffroen*: e.g. *corcur* 'purpura,' *clúm* 'pluma,' *caille* 'pallium,' *cland* 'planta,' W. *plant*, *Cothraige* 'Patricius'; *sorn* 'furnus,' *senester* 'fenestra,' *sián* 'frenum,' *srogell* 'flagellum'; *fiurt* 'uirtus,' *fial* 'uelum': in later borrowings *p* and *f* remain unchanged, e.g. *popul* 'populus,' *precept* 'præceptum,' *Pátraicc* 'Patricius'; *figor* 'figura,' *felsub* 'philosophus.'

## 261.

## Borrowed Verbs.

Borrowed verbs follow the conjugation of Class A I.: *adrain* ('adorare') is treated sometimes as though it were a native compound verb, e.g. *ad-r-orsat* 'they have adored'; also *consecraim* ('consecrare'), e.g. *cut-secar* 'he consecrated it.'





## APPENDIX B.

## Old Irish Grammatical Terms

(from the S.G. Glosses on Priscian).

## Phonology.

<i>fogur</i> 'sound'	<i>acuit</i> 'acute'
<i>mífogur</i> 'cacophony'	<i>conson</i> 'consonant'
<i>comfogur</i> 'consonance'	<i>lethgute</i> 'semi-vowel'
<i>nephcomfogur</i> 'inconson.'	<i>lechdach</i> 'liquid'
<i>deogur</i> ( <i>de-fog.</i> ) 'diphthong'	<i>mút</i> 'mute'
<i>liter</i> 'letter'	<i>diuit</i> 'simple'
<i>cárachtar</i> 'character'	<i>diabul</i> 'double'
<i>abbgitir</i> 'alphabet'	<i>emnad</i> 'doubling'
<i>gutte</i> 'vowel'	<i>tinfed</i> 'aspiration'
<i>gutass</i> 'vocalism'	<i>séim</i> 'smooth, lenis'
<i>gairit</i> 'short'	<i>sillab</i> 'syllable'
<i>timmorte</i> 'contracted'	<i>ult</i> 'ultima'
<i>airdixe</i> 'long'	<i>peneult</i> 'penultima'
<i>aiccent</i> (-nd) 'accent'	<i>coimmchloud</i> 'mutation'
<i>graiif</i> 'grave'	

## Declension.

<i>áram</i> 'number'	<i>ainm n-díles</i> 'proper noun'
<i>uathad</i> 'singular'	<i>ainm n-adiecht</i> 'adjective'
<i>ílar</i> 'plural'	<i>ainm n-briatharda</i> 'v. noun'
<i>cenél</i> 'gender'	<i>digabthach</i> 'diminutive'
<i>mascul</i> 'masculine'	<i>doacaldmach</i> 'appellative'
<i>masculinda</i> 'masc.'	<i>comainmnechdech</i> 'synonym.'
<i>femin</i> 'feminine'	<i>aitherrechaigthe</i> 'patronym.'
<i>neutar</i> 'neuter'	<i>huatuasailthe</i> 'absolute'
<i>tuiseil</i> 'case'	<i>condelgg</i> 'comparison'
<i>canthuiseil</i> 'oblique case'	<i>posit</i> 'positive'
<i>ainmnid</i> 'nominative'	<i>comparit</i> 'comparative'
<i>genitin</i> 'genitive'	<i>superlait</i> 'superlative'
<i>tobarthid</i> 'dative'	<i>articol</i> 'article'
<i>áinsid</i> 'accusative'	<i>pronomén</i> ( <i>pronoib</i> ) 'pronoun'
<i>togarthis</i> 'vocative'	<i>atárcadach</i> 'anaphoric'
<i>foxlaid</i> 'ablative'	<i>aîtrebthech</i> 'possessive'
<i>diáll</i> 'declension'	<i>aithforlsigthech</i> 'demonst.'
<i>dilledach</i> 'declinable'	<i>immchomairsnech</i> 'interrog.'
<i>nephdilledach</i> 'indeclin.'	<i>érrethach</i> 'reditive'
<i>ainm trén</i> 'substantive'	<i>adchoimchladach</i> 'reciprocal'

**Conjugation.**

<i>coibeden</i> 'conjugation'	<i>forngarthid</i> 'imperative'
<i>filliud</i> 'flexion'	<i>infinit</i> 'infinitive'
<i>mod</i> 'mood'	<i>gerind</i> 'gerund'
<i>aimser</i> 'tense'	<i>bríathar</i> 'verb'
<i>persan</i> 'person'	<i>b. gnímo</i> 'active verb'
<i>freindaire</i> 'present'	<i>b. césta</i> 'passive verb'
<i>sechmadachte</i> 'preterite'	<i>diuscartach</i> 'deponent'
<i>s. anfoirbthe</i> 'pret. impf.'	<i>deainmnichthech</i> 'denomin.'
<i>s. foirbthe</i> 'pret. perf.'	<i>cétnide</i> 'primitive'
<i>olfoirbthe</i> 'pluperf.'	<i>tairmthechtid</i> 'transitive'
<i>todochide</i> 'future'	<i>nephtairmth</i> 'intransitive'
<i>écrichdae</i> 'aorist'	<i>ranngabáil</i> 'participle'
<i>indidit</i> 'indicative'	<i>tarmorcenn</i> 'termination'
<i>comaccomol</i> 'subjunctive'	<i>delb</i> 'paradigm'
<i>optait</i> 'optative'	

**Particles.**

<i>dobriathar</i> 'adverb'	<i>interiecht</i> 'interjection'
<i>remsuidigud</i> 'preposition'	<i>comaccomol</i> 'conjunction'

**Syntax.**

<i>immognam</i> }	<i>tóbae</i> 'concision'
<i>immfognam</i> }	<i>analach</i> 'analogy'
<i>comsuidigud</i> 'composition'	<i>indlach</i> 'diaeresis'
<i>sreth</i> 'order'	<i>intsliucht</i> }
<i>comsreith</i> 'construction'	<i>slond</i> }
<i>remthechtas</i> 'anteposition'	<i>cinniud</i> 'definition'
<i>tiarmoracht</i> 'postposition'	<i>folad</i> 'substance'
<i>accomol</i> 'combination'	<i>ctall</i> 'sense, meaning'
<i>rann insce</i> 'part of speech'	<i>inne</i> 'quality'
<i>impúth</i> 'anastrophe'	<i>guth</i> 'voice'
<i>comaisníds</i> 'apposition'	<i>epert</i> 'vocalable'
<i>eiscsin</i> 'porrection'	<i>focul</i> 'word'
<i>erchra</i> 'ellipsis'	<i>fuath</i> 'figure'
<i>comdlúthad</i> 'synaeresis'	<i>ménugud</i> 'hiatus'
<i>disruthigud</i> 'derivation'	

**Prosody.**

<i>fers</i> 'verse'	<i>glanad</i> 'elision'
<i>traig</i> 'foot'	<i>metar</i> 'metre'
<i>cethargarait</i> 'proceleusmatic'	

## APPENDIX C.

## Miscellaneous Paradigms.

*as·beir* 'says'

## INDICATIVE.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.

prototonic.

1 *as·biur*·*epur*2 *as·bir*·*epir*3 *as·beir*·*epir*Pass. *as·berar*, *as·berr*·*eperr*

## Plural

1 *as·beram*·*eprem*2 *as·berid*·*eprid*3 *as·berat*·*epret*Pass. *as·bertar*·*epertar*

## Imperfect.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.

prototonic.

1 *as·berinn*·*eprinn*2 *as·bertha*·*epertha*3 *as·bered*·*epred*Pass. *as·berthe*·*eperthe*

## Plural.

1 *as·bermis*·*epermis*2 *as·berthe*·*eperthe*3 *as·bertis*·*epertis*Pass. *as·bertis*·*epertis*

**Future**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>as·bér</i>	· <i>epér</i>
2 <i>as·bérae</i>	· <i>epérae</i>
3 <i>as·béra</i>	· <i>epéra</i>
Pass. <i>as·bértar</i>	· <i>epértar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>as·béram</i>	· <i>epéram</i>
2 <i>as·béraid</i>	· <i>epéraid</i>
3 <i>as·bérat</i>	· <i>epérat</i>
Pass. <i>as·bértar</i>	· <i>epértar</i>

**Future Preterite.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>as·bérinn</i>	· <i>epérinn</i>
2 <i>as·bértar</i>	· <i>epértar</i>
3 <i>as·bérad</i>	· <i>epérad</i>
Pass. <i>as·bértar</i>	· <i>epértar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>as·bérmis</i>	· <i>epérmis</i>
2 <i>as·bértar</i>	· <i>epértar</i>
3 <i>as·bértis</i>	· <i>epértis</i>
Pass. <i>as·bértis</i>	· <i>epértis</i>

**Preterite.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>as·biurt</i>	(· <i>epurt</i> )
2 <i>as·birt</i>	· <i>epirt</i>
3 <i>as·bert</i>	· <i>epert</i>
Pass. <i>as·breth</i>	· <i>epred</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>as·bertmar</i>	(· <i>epertmar</i> )
2 <i>as·bertid</i>	(· <i>epertid</i> )
3 <i>as·bertatar</i>	(· <i>epertatar</i> )

**Perfect.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>as·ruburt</i>	· <i>érburt</i>
2 <i>as·rubairt</i>	· <i>érbairt</i>
3 <i>as·rubart</i>	· <i>érbart</i>
Pass. <i>as·robrad</i>	· <i>érbrad</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>as·rubartmar</i>	· <i>érbartmar</i>
2 <i>as·rubartaid</i>	· <i>érbartaid</i>
3 <i>as·rubartatar</i>	· <i>érbartatar</i>

**IMPERATIVE.**

Sing.	Plur.
1	<i>eprem</i>
2 <i>epir</i>	<i>eprid</i>
3 <i>epred</i>	<i>epret</i>

**SUBJUNCTIVE.****Present.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>as·ber</i>	· <i>eper</i>
2 <i>as·berae</i>	· <i>epre</i>
3 <i>as·bera</i>	· <i>eprea</i>
Pass. <i>as·berthar</i>	· <i>eperthar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>as·beram</i>	· <i>eprem</i>
2 <i>as·berid</i>	· <i>eprid</i>
3 <i>as·berat</i>	· <i>epret</i>
Pass. <i>as·bertar</i>	· <i>epertar</i>
<i>k</i>	

**Preterite.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>as·berainn</i>	<i>·eprinn</i>
2 <i>as·bertha</i>	<i>·epertha</i>
3 <i>as·berad</i>	<i>·epred</i>
Pass. <i>as·berthae</i>	<i>·eperthae</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>as·bermais</i>	<i>·epermis</i>
2 <i>as·berthae</i>	<i>·eperthe</i>
3 <i>as·bertais</i>	<i>·epertis</i>
Pass. <i>as·bertais</i>	<i>·epertais</i>

<b>Verbal noun</b>	<i>epert</i>
<b>Passive participle</b>	<i>eperthae</i>
<b>Participle of necessity</b>	<i>eperthi</i>

*do·beir* 'gives'**INDICATIVE.****Present.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·biur</i>	<i>·tabur</i>
2 <i>do·bir</i>	<i>·tabair</i>
3 <i>do·beir</i>	<i>·tabair</i>
Pass. <i>do·berar, do·berr</i>	<i>·tabarr</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·beram</i>	<i>·taibrem</i>
2 <i>do·berid</i>	<i>·taibrid</i>
3 <i>do·berat</i>	<i>·taibret</i>
Pass. <i>do·bertar</i>	<i>·tabartar</i>



**Imperfect.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·berinn</i>	<i>·taibrinn</i>
2 <i>do·bertha</i>	<i>·tabartha</i>
3 <i>do·bered</i>	<i>·taibred</i>
Pass. <i>do·berthe</i>	<i>·tabarthe</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·bermis</i>	<i>·tabarmis</i>
2 <i>do·berthe</i>	<i>·tabarthe</i>
3 <i>do·bertis</i>	<i>·tabartis</i>
Pass. <i>do·bertis</i>	<i>·tabartis</i>

**Future.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·bér</i>	<i>·tibér</i>
2 <i>do·bérae</i>	<i>·tibérae</i>
3 <i>do·béra</i>	<i>·tibéra</i>
Pass. <i>do·berthar</i>	<i>·tibérthar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·béram</i>	<i>·tibéram</i>
2 <i>do·béraid</i>	<i>·tibéraid</i>
3 <i>do·bérat</i>	<i>·tibérat</i>
Pass. <i>do·bértar</i>	<i>·tibértar</i>

## Passive.

## Singular.

<i>do·bértar</i>	<i>·tibérthar</i>
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**Future Preterite.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·bérinn</i>	<i>·tibérinn</i>
2 <i>do·bértha</i>	<i>·tibértha</i>
3 <i>do·bérad</i>	<i>·tibérad</i>
Pass. <i>do·bérthe</i>	<i>·tibérthe</i>

## Plural.

1	<i>do·bérmis</i>	<i>·tibermis</i>
2	<i>do·bértthe</i>	<i>·tibérthe</i>
3	<i>do·bertis</i>	<i>·tibértis</i>
Pass.	<i>do·bértis</i>	<i>·tibértis</i>

## Preterite.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 ( <i>do·biurt</i> )	( <i>·taburt</i> )
2 <i>do·birt</i>	<i>·tabirt</i>
3 <i>do·bert</i>	<i>·tabart</i>
Pass. <i>do·breth</i>	<i>·tabrad</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·bertmar</i>	<i>·tabartmar</i>
2 <i>do·bertid</i>	<i>·tabartid</i>
3 <i>do·bertatar</i>	<i>·tabartatar</i>
Pass. <i>do·bretha</i>	( <i>·tabartha</i> )

## Perfect (in sense of 'give').

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·ratus</i>	<i>·tartus</i>
2 <i>do·ratis</i>	<i>·tartais</i>
3 <i>do·rat</i>	<i>·tarat</i>
Pass. <i>do·ratad</i>	<i>·tarat</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·ratsam</i>	<i>·tartsam</i>
2 <i>do·ratsid</i>	<i>·tartsaid</i>
3 <i>do·ratsat</i>	<i>·tartisset, ·tartsat</i>
Pass. <i>do·ratta</i>	<i>·tarta</i>

**Perfect** (in sense of 'bring').

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·uccus</i>	<i>·tuccus</i>
2 <i>do·uccis</i>	<i>·tuccis</i>
3 <i>do·uic, do·uc</i>	<i>·tuic, ·tucc</i>
Pass. <i>do·uccad</i>	<i>·tuccad</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·uicsem</i>	<i>·tucsam</i>
2 <i>do·ucsid</i>	<i>·tucsid</i>
3 <i>do·ucsat</i>	<i>·tucsat</i>
Pass. <i>do·uctha</i>	<i>·tuctha</i>

**IMPERATIVE.**

Sing.	Plur.
1	<i>taibrem</i>
2 <i>tabair, tuic</i>	<i>taibrid</i>
3 <i>taibred</i>	<i>taibret</i>

**SUBJUNCTIVE.****Present.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·ber</i>	<i>·tabar</i>
2 <i>do·berae</i>	<i>·taibre</i>
3 <i>do·bera</i>	<i>·taibrea</i>
Pass. <i>do·berthar</i>	<i>·tabarthar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·beram</i>	<i>·taibrem</i>
2 <i>do·berid</i>	<i>·taibrid</i>
3 <i>do·berat</i>	<i>·taibret</i>
Pass. <i>do·bertar</i>	<i>·tabartar</i>

**Preterite.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·berainn</i>	<i>·taibrinn</i>
2 <i>do·bertha</i>	<i>·tabartha</i>
3 <i>do·berad</i>	<i>·taibred</i>
Pass. <i>do·berthae</i>	<i>·tabarthae</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·bermais</i>	<i>·tabarmis</i>
2 <i>do·berthae</i>	<i>·tabarthae</i>
3 <i>do·bertais</i>	<i>·tabartais</i>
Pass. <i>do·bertais</i>	<i>·tabartais</i>

Subjunctive corresponding to perfect *do·rat*.

**Present.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·rat</i>	<i>·tart</i>
2 <i>do·ratae</i>	<i>·tartae</i>
3 <i>do·rata</i>	<i>·tarta</i>
Pass. <i>do·rattar</i>	<i>·tartar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·ratam</i>	<i>·tartam</i>
2 <i>do·rataid</i>	<i>·tartaid</i>
3 <i>do·ratat</i>	<i>·tartat</i>
Pass. <i>do·rattar</i>	<i>·tartar</i>

**Preterite.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·ratainn</i>	<i>·tartainn</i>
2 <i>do·ratta</i>	<i>·tarta</i>
3 <i>do·ratað</i>	<i>·tartað</i>
Pass. <i>do·rattae</i>	<i>·tartae</i>

## Plural

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·ratmais</i>	· <i>tartmais</i>
2 <i>do·rattae</i>	· <i>tartae</i>
3 <i>do·rattais</i>	· <i>tartais</i>
Pass. <i>do·rattais</i>	· <i>tartais</i>

Subjunctive corresponding to *do·uc*

**Present.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·uc</i>	· <i>tuc</i>
2 <i>do·uccae</i>	· <i>tuccae</i>
3 <i>do·ucca</i>	· <i>tucca</i>
Pass. <i>do·ucthar</i>	· <i>tucthar</i>
etc.	etc.

**Preterite.**

## Singular.

1 <i>do·uccainn</i>	· <i>tuccainn</i> .
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**Verbal noun**

*tabart, tabairt.*

**Participle of necessity**

*tabarthi.*

*do·gní* 'does.'

**INDICATIVE.****Present.**

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic
1 <i>do·gníu</i> ( <i>·gním</i> )	· <i>dénim</i>
2 <i>do·gní</i>	· <i>déni</i>
3 <i>do·gní</i>	· <i>déni</i>
Pass. <i>do·gníther</i>	· <i>déntar</i>

## Plural.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·gníam</i>	· <i>dénam</i>
2 <i>do·gníith</i>	· <i>dénid</i>
3 <i>do·gníat</i>	· <i>dénat</i>
Pass. <i>do·gníter</i>	· <i>dénatar</i>

## Imperfect.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic
1 <i>do·gníinn</i>	· <i>déninn</i>
2 ( <i>do·gnítha</i> )	(· <i>dénta</i> )
3 <i>do·gníth</i>	· <i>dénad</i>
Pass. <i>do·gníthe</i>	· <i>dénte</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·gnímmis</i>	· <i>dénmis</i>
2 <i>do·gníthe</i>	· <i>dénte</i>
3 <i>do·gnítis</i>	· <i>déntis</i>
Pass. <i>do·gnítis</i>	· <i>déntis</i>

## Future.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·gén</i>	· <i>digen</i>
2 <i>do·génae</i>	· <i>digne</i>
3 <i>do·géna</i>	· <i>dignea</i>
Pass. <i>do·géntar</i>	· <i>digentar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·génam</i>	· <i>dignem</i> , · <i>diyenam</i>
2 <i>do·génid</i>	· <i>dignid</i>
3 <i>do·génat</i>	· <i>dignet</i>
Pass. ( <i>do·génatar</i> )	(· <i>digniter</i> )



**Future Preterite.****Singular.**

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·géninn</i>	<i>·digninn</i>
2 <i>do·génta</i>	<i>·digenta</i>
3 <i>do·génad</i>	<i>·digned</i>
Pass. <i>do·génte</i>	<i>·digente</i>

**Plural.**

1 <i>do·génmis</i>	<i>·digenmis</i>
2 <i>do·génte</i>	<i>·digente</i>
3 <i>do·géntis</i>	<i>·digentis</i>
Pass. <i>do·géntis</i>	<i>·digentis</i>

**Preterite.**

Sg. 3 *do·géni*, prototon. *·digni*, pl. 3 *do·géisnet*.

Pass. *do·gníth*, prototon. *·dénad*.

**Perfect.****Singular.**

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 { <i>do·rignius</i> <i>do·rigénus</i>	{ <i>·deirgénus</i> <i>·dernus</i>
2 <i>do·rignis</i>	{ <i>*·dergenis</i> <i>*·dernis</i>
3 { <i>do·rigni</i> <i>do·rigéni</i>	{ <i>·deirgéni</i> , <i>·derni</i> <i>·deirgini</i> , <i>·deirgni</i>
Pass. <i>do·rónad</i>	<i>·dernad</i>

**Plural.**

1 <i>do·rigénsam</i>	<i>*·dergensam</i>
2 <i>do·rigénsid</i>	<i>*·dergensid</i>
3 <i>do·rigénsat</i>	<i>·dergensat</i>
Pass. <i>do·rónta</i>	<i>·dernta</i>

## SUBJUNCTIVE.

## Present.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·gnéo</i>	· <i>dén</i>
2 <i>do·gné</i>	· <i>dénae</i>
3 <i>do·gné</i>	· <i>déna</i>
Pass. <i>do·gnether</i>	· <i>déntar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·gnem</i>	· <i>dénam</i>
2 <i>do·gneid</i>	· <i>dénid</i>
3 <i>do·gnet</i>	· <i>dénat</i>
Pass. <i>do·gneter</i>	· <i>dénatar</i>

## Preterite.

## Singular.

deuterotonic	prototonic.
1 <i>do·gneinn</i>	· <i>déninn</i>
2 <i>do·gnetha</i>	· <i>dénta</i>
3 <i>do·gneth</i>	· <i>dénad</i>
Pass. <i>do·gnethe</i>	· <i>dénte</i>

## Plural

1 <i>do·gnemmis</i>	· <i>dénmis</i>
2 <i>do·gnethe</i>	· <i>dénte</i>
3 <i>do·gnetis</i>	· <i>déntis</i>
Pass. <i>do·gnetis</i>	· <i>déntis</i>

## IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	Plur.
1	<i>dénam</i>
2 <i>déne</i>	<i>dénid</i>
3 <i>dénad</i>	<i>dénat</i>
<b>Verbal noun</b>	<i>dénom, dénum</i>
<b>Passive participle</b>	( <i>dénte</i> )
<b>Participle of necessity</b>	<i>dénti, déinti</i>

*téit* 'goes'**INDICATIVE.****Present.**

## Singular

absolute.	conjunct.
1 <i>tiagu</i>	<i>·tiag</i>
2 <i>tégi</i>	<i>·téig</i>
3 <i>téit</i>	<i>·tét</i>
rel. <i>téte</i>	
Pass. <i>tiagair</i>	<i>·tiagar</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>tiagmai</i>	<i>·tiagam</i>
rel. <i>tiagmae</i>	
2 <i>téit</i>	<i>·téit</i>
3 <i>tiagait</i>	<i>·tiagat</i>
rel. <i>tiagtae</i>	

**Imperfect.**

Sg. 3 <i>·téiged</i>	Pl. 3 <i>·teigtis</i>
	etc.

**Future.**

## Singular.

absolute	conjunct
1 <i>rega</i>	<i>·rig</i>
2 <i>regae</i>	<i>·regae</i>
3 <i>regaid</i>	<i>·rega</i>
rel. <i>rigas</i>	
Pass. <i>rigthir</i>	<i>*·regthar</i>

## Plural.

absolute.	conjunct.
1 <i>rigmi</i>	<i>·regam</i>
rel. * <i>regme</i>	
2 * <i>regthe</i>	<i>·regaid</i>
3 <i>regait</i>	<i>·regat</i>
rel. * <i>regte</i>	

## Future Preterite.

Sing.	Plur.
1 ( <i>·riginn</i> )	( <i>·rigmis</i> )
2 <i>·rigtha</i>	( <i>·rigthe</i> )
3 <i>·rigad</i>	<i>·regtais</i>

## Preterite.

Sg. 3 *luid*, rel. *luide*, pass. *ethae*; pl. 3 *·lotar*

## Perfect.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·cood</i>	<i>·dechud</i>
2 <i>do·cood</i>	<i>·dechud</i>
3 <i>do·coïd</i> , <i>do·cuaid</i>	<i>·dechuid</i>
Pass. <i>do·coas</i>	( <i>·diches</i> )

## Plural.

1 <i>do·commar</i>	<i>·dechummar</i>
2 <i>do·coidid</i>	<i>·digtith</i>
3 <i>do·cotar</i> , <i>do·cuatar</i>	<i>·dechutar</i>

## IMPERATIVE.

sing.	plur.
1 <i>tíag</i> , <i>tíach</i>	<i>tíagam</i>
2 { <i>eirg</i>	{ <i>ergid</i>
( <i>ná</i> ) <i>téig</i>	( <i>ná</i> ) * <i>téit</i>
3 { <i>téit</i>	{ <i>tíagat</i>
<i>eirged</i>	<i>eirget</i>
Pass. <i>tíagar</i>	

## SUBJUNCTIVE.

## Present.

*tíasu*, &c. ; v. § 129.

## Present corresponding to Perfect.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·cous</i>	· <i>dechos</i>
2 <i>do·cois</i>	· <i>digis</i>
3 <i>do·cói</i>	· <i>decha</i> , · <i>dich</i>

## Plural.

1 ( <i>do·coisem</i> )	· <i>decham</i>
2 <i>do·coisid</i>	· <i>digsid</i>
3 <i>do·coiset</i>	· <i>dichset</i>

## Preterite.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·coisinn</i>	· <i>dichsainn</i>
2 <i>do·coista</i>	(· <i>dichasta</i> )
3 <i>do·coised</i>	· <i>dichsed</i>

## Plural.

1 <i>do·coismis</i>	(· <i>dichesmis</i> )
2 <i>do·coiste</i>	(· <i>dicheste</i> )
3 <i>do·coistis</i>	· <i>dechsaitis</i>

---

*do·tét* 'comes.'

## INDICATIVE.

## Present.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·tíag</i>	· <i>táeg</i> , · <i>taig</i>
2 <i>do·téig</i>	(· <i>taig</i> )
3 <i>do·tét</i>	· <i>táet</i> , · <i>taít</i>
Pass. <i>do·tíagar</i>	

## Plural.

1	<i>do·tíagam</i>	(· <i>taígam</i> )
2	<i>do·tét</i>	· <i>taít</i>
3	<i>do·tíagat</i>	· <i>taígat</i>

## Imperfect.

## Singular.

1	<i>do·téiginn</i>	(· <i>taíginn</i> )
	etc.	etc.

## Future.

## Singular.

	deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1	<i>do·reg</i>	—
3	{ <i>do·rega</i> <i>do·riga</i>	{ · <i>terga</i> · <i>tirga</i>

## Plural.

1	<i>do·regam</i>	· <i>tergam</i>
2	<i>do·regaid</i>	· <i>tergaid</i>
3	<i>do·regat</i>	· <i>tergat</i>

## Future Preterite.

Sg. 3	{ <i>do·regad</i> <i>do·rigad</i>	{ · <i>tergad</i> · <i>tirgad</i>
		etc.

## Preterite.

Sg. 3	<i>do·luid</i>	· <i>tolid</i>
Pass.	<i>do·eth</i>	etc.
Pl. 3	<i>do·lotar</i>	· <i>tultatar</i>

## Perfect.

## Singular.

	deuterotonic	prototonic.
1	<i>do·dechud</i>	· <i>tuidched</i>
3	<i>do·dechuid</i>	Pass. · <i>tuidches</i>

## Plural.

1	<i>do·dechommar</i>	
3	<i>do·dechutar</i>	· <i>tuidchetar</i>



## SUBJUNCTIVE.

## Present.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·tlas</i>	· <i>táes</i>
3 <i>do·téi</i>	· <i>taí</i>
etc.	etc.

## Preterite.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
1 <i>do·téisinn</i>	· <i>taisinn</i>
etc.	etc.

## Subjunctive corresponding to Perfect.

## Present.

## Singular.

deuterotonic.	prototonic.
3 <i>do·decha</i>	· <i>tudich, tuidig</i>
etc.	etc.

## Preterite.

## Singular.

3 <i>do·dichsed</i>	· <i>tuidchised</i>
etc.	etc.

## IMPERATIVE.

Sg. 2 <i>tair</i>	Pl. <i>taít</i>
3 <i>taít, táet</i>	<i>taígat</i>

There is a subj. formed from this *tair* of the 2nd sing. imper. viz. 3rd sg. *tairi. tair* 'let him come,' pl. *tairset*.

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## APPENDIX D.

## SPECIMENS OF OLD IRISH PROSE AND POETRY.

## First Stage.

1. *Dalagni maqi Dali* (Ogham) 'of Dalagnos, the son of Dalos.' 2. *Lie Luguædon macci Menueh* 'The stone of Lugu-aed, the son of Menb.'

## Second Stage.

## 1.—FROM THE CAMBRAI HOMILY.

(a) *Insce inso as-ber ar féda Ísu fri cach n-oein din chenélú doíne, are-n-indarbe analchi ood ocus a pecthu ocus ara-tinóla soalchi ocus are-n-airema futhu ocus airde cruche ar Chríst, céin bes i comus coirp ocus anme, aire-sechethar slictu ar fédot i n-dagnímrathib.*

(b) *Air iss é a bees ma beth na galar bec for corp duini, ma gorith locc cith in e chuis nu in e láim nu in e méraib, fo-geir a n-ggalar in uile corp: is samlith is comadas duin chanisin, fo-n-gera cach n-érnail (?)—óire nundem membur uili du Dea—nach céssath ocus na calar bess fair e chomnessam.*

(c) *Filus tre chenélæ martre daneu ad-rímiter ar chruich du duiniu ma dos-gné: baanmartre ocus glas-martre ocus dergmartre. Is sí is bánmartre du duiniu in tain scaras ar Dea fri cach reet caras, ce ru-césa áini nu laubir n-oco; is sí ind glasmartre dó, in tain scaras fria thola leo t céssas saithor i ppennit ocus aithrigi; is sí in dergmartre dó, foditu chruche ocus diorcne ar Chríst, amail tond-echomnuichuir dundaib abstolaib, oc ingrim-mim inna cloen ocuis oc forcetul recto Dee. Con-gaibetar inna tre chenél martre so issnib colnidib tu-thégot dag-athrigi, scarde fria tola, céste saithu, tu-esmot a fuil i n-áini ocuis i laubair ar Chríst. Filus daneu tre chenéle martre atta lógmara le Dea, ara-n-étatham-ni fochrici, ma nos-comalmamar.*

Note the archaic forms *ood* (*uad*), *are* (*ara*), *fédot* (*fiadat*), *Dea* (*Día*), *e* (*a*) poss. pron. 3rd sg., *nundem* (*nondan*), *ocuis* (*ocus*), *filus*=*fil* with suffixed pron. 3rd pl., *amail* (*amal*), *dundaib* (*donaib*), and the verbs with proclitic *to*, *tu* (*do*, *du*), *tu-thégot* v. Introd.

#### TRANSLATION.

(a) This is the saying which our Lord Jesus saith to every one of the race of men, that he banish from him (his) vices and his sins, and that he gather virtues and receive stigmata and signs of the Cross for Christ's sake, so long as he is in power of body and soul, that he follow the tracks of our Lord in good deeds.

(b) For this is its usage, if there be any little ailment on a man's body, if it burns a place, whether in his foot or in his hand, or in his fingers, the disease inflames the whole body. Thus it is fitting for us ourselves, that every suffering and every ailment that is on his neighbour should inflame every part (?)—for we are all members unto God.

(c) Now there are three kinds of martyrdom which are counted as a cross to man, if he perform them (viz.) white martyrdom, and green martyrdom, and red martyrdom. This is the white martyrdom to man, when he separates for the sake of God from everything he loves, although he suffer fasting or labour thereat; this is the green martyrdom to him, when by means of them (i.e. fasting and labour) he separates from his desires, or suffers toil in penance and repentance; this is red martyrdom to him, endurance of a cross or destruction for Christ's sake, as has happened to the Apostles in the persecution of the wicked and in teaching the law of God. These three kinds of martyrdom are comprised in the carnal ones who resort to good repentance, who separate from their desires, who suffer troubles, who pour forth their blood in fasting and in labour for Christ's sake. There are, then, three kinds of martyrdom which are precious in God's eyes, for which we obtain rewards if we fulfil them.

## 2.—FROM THE STOWE MISSAL.

(a) *Na tri chémmen cinges in fer graith for a chúlu  
 7 to·cing afrithisi is ed a tréde in-imruindethar cach  
 duine, .i. hi mbréthir hi cocell hi ngúin.*

(b) *Iss-ed tra as brig la Dia menmae do buith hi  
 figraib in offrind 7 corop he to menmme ind rann ara-  
 foemi din obli amail bith ball di Chríst ass a chroich 7  
 ara-mbé croch sáithir for cach a rith féin, óre n-éinigether  
 frisín corp crochthe.*

Note *afrithisi* (*arithisi*), *tocing* (*do·cing*), and even *to*  
 for later *do* poss. pron. 2nd sg.

## TRANSLATION.

(a) The three steps which the ordained man steppeth  
 backwards and which he again steps forward, this is the  
 triad in which everyone sins, *i.e.* in word, in thought, in  
 deed.

(b) This is what God deems worthy, the mind to be in  
 the symbols of the Mass, and that this be thy mind: the  
 portion of the Host which thou receivest (*to·be*) as it were  
 a member of Christ from His Cross, and that there may be  
 a cross of labour on each (*in*) his own course, because it  
 unites to the crucified Body.

## Third Stage.

## FROM THE MILAN GLOSSES ON THE PSALMS.

*Is ed scél for·aithminedar isindt-siu: dia·luid Dauid  
 for longaís re Sául, luid side tarum dia thofun som co  
 slúag, 7 gabthe dúnad les fris ar inoillius. Do·luid  
 Dauid tarum aidchi ro·boí cucu inn-a n-dúnad 7 luid co  
 port i n-boí in rí ind sainruid 7 con·oscaig eredig ind  
 rí 7 con·oscaig in gae 7 sáidsi li ala lecuinn Sául hi  
 talmáin: 7 luid tarum inti Dauid hi telaig ba nessam  
 dind slóg 7 ar·gart doib di suidi nant maith con·rottatar  
 a·rríg. Décaid a eredig 7 a arma, cia indas rund-  
 gabsat!’ In aimsir in tindnacuil sin didiu du·n-écom-  
 nacht Dia inní Sául inn-a láma som, ro·gab som in  
 salm so.*

## TRANSLATION.

This is the story to which he refers here: when David went into exile before Saul, the latter went afterwards to pursue him with a host, and a camp was pitched by him (Saul) against him (David) for protection. David then came one evening to them into their camp, and he went to the place in which the King was in particular, and removed the King's cup, and removed the spear, and fixed it by one of Saul's cheeks in the ground: and afterwards the said David went to a hill that was nearest to the host and taunted them thence that they had not guarded their King well. "Behold ye his cup and his arms, how they are!" It was at the time of that giving whereby God delivered the afore-mentioned Saul into his hands that he sang this psalm.

## Poetry.

FROM THE ST. GALL PRISCIAN.

1. *Is acher in gath in-nocht  
fu-fuasna fairggæ find-folt :  
nt-ágor réimn Mora Minn  
dond láechraid lainn ua Lothlind.*

Note the poetic license in the order of the words *fairggæ find-folt* for prose *find-folt inna fairggæ*.

## TRANSLATION.

Bitter is the wind to-night,  
It tosses the ocean's white hair :  
I fear not the coursing of the Irish Channel  
By the fierce heroes from Lothlend.

## I.

2. *Dom-farcaí fídbaidæ fál  
fom-chain lóid luin—líad nad-cél—,  
húas mo lebrán ind línech  
fom-chain trítrech inna n-én.*

## II.

*Fomm-chain cot menn—medair mass—  
hi m-brot glass de dindynaib doss.  
dé-bráth ! nom-choimmdiu-coíma !  
cain-scribaimm fo roída r[oss].*

Note the poetic license in the order of words *fidbaidce fál*, *roída ross* for prose *fál inna fidbaidce*, *ross ind roída*; also the infixing not only of the pronoun but also of the subject in *no-m-choimmdiu-coíma*.

## TRANSLATION.

## I.

A hedge of trees surrounds me,  
A blackbird's lay sings to me—praise which I  
will not hide—  
Above my booklet the lined one  
The trilling of the birds sings to me.

## II.

The clear cuckoo sings to me—a beautiful chant—  
In a gray mantle from the tops of the bushes.  
By the God of Doom ! May the Lord protect me !  
I write well under the greenwood.

## FROM THE CODEX S. PAULI.

1. A poem ascribed to Suibne Geilt, a chieftain who became insane at the battle of Magh Rath in the year 637. Sarauw suggests that his *airiúclán* was his grave.

***Barr Edin.***

## I.

*M'airiúclán hi Tuaim Inbir,  
ní lán-tehdais bes séstu :  
cona rétglannaib a réir,  
cona gréin, cona éscu.*



## II.

*Gobbán du-rigni insin—  
con-écestar duib a stoir—  
mu chridecán, Día du nim,  
is hé tugatóir rod-toig.*

## III.

*Tech in-na-fera flechod  
maigen 'na-digder rindi  
soilsidir bid hi lugburt,  
os é cen udnucht n-imbi.*

## TRANSLATION.

**The Crown of Ivy.**

## I.

My little oratory in Tuaim Inbir,  
There is not a full house which is more pleasing (?):  
With its stars agreeably to (one's) wish,  
With its sun, with its moon.

## II.

Gobbán has made that—  
That its story may be told to you—  
My heartlet, God from heaven,  
He is the thatcher who has thatched it.

## III.

A house wherein rain pours not,  
A place wherein thou fearest not spear-points,  
Bright as though in a garden,  
And it without a fence (?) around it.

2.

## THE MONK AND HIS CAT.

## I.

*Messe ocus Pangur bán,  
cechtar nathar fria sain-dán;  
bíth a menma sam fri seilgg,  
mu menma céin im sain-cheird.*

## II.

*Caraim-se fos, ferr cach clú,  
oc mu lebrán léir ingnu;  
ní foirmtech frimm Pangur bán,  
caraid cesin a macc-dán.*

## III.

*Ó ru-biam—scél cen scís—  
inn-ar tegdais ar n-óen-dís,  
táithiunn—dtchríchide clius—  
ní fris'tarddam ar n-áthiús.*

## IV.

*Gnáth húaraib ar gressaib gal  
glenaid luch inn-a lín sam;  
os mé, du-fuit im lín chéin  
dliged n-doraid cu n-dron-chéill.*

## V.

*Fúachaid sem fri frega fál  
a rosc, a n-glé se comlán;  
fúachimm chéin fri fégi fis  
mu rosc réil, cesu imdis.*

## VI.

*Fáelid sem cu n-déne dul,  
hí-n-glen luch inn-a gér-chrub;  
hí-tucu cheist n-doraid n-díl,  
os mé chene am fáelid.*

## VII.

*Cla beimmi amin nach ré,  
níderban cách a chéle.  
maith la cehtar nár a dán,  
subaigthis a óenurán.*

## VIII.

*Hé fesin as choimsid dáu  
in muid du'n-*gnt* cach óen-láu;  
du thabairt dóruid du glé  
for mu muid céin am (ám?) messe.*

## TRANSLATION.

## I

I and white Pangur,  
Each of us at his special art;  
His mind is at hunting (mice),  
My own mind is in my special craft.

## II.

I love to rest, better than any fame,  
At my booklet with diligent science;  
White Pangur is not envious of me,  
He himself loves his childish art.

## III.

When we are—tale without tedium—  
In our house, we two alone,  
We have—unlimited sport—  
Something to which to apply our acuteness.

## IV.

It is customary at times by feats of valour,  
That a mouse sticks in his net,  
As for me, there falls into my own net  
A difficult dictum with hard meaning.

## V.

He points against the wall's fence  
 His eye, this glancing full one ;  
 I myself point against the clearness of science  
 My clear eye, though it is feeble.

## VI.

He is joyous with speedy going,  
 Where a mouse sticks in his sharp claw ;  
 Where I understand a difficult dear question  
 As for me, I too am joyous.

## VII.

Though we are thus always,  
 Neither hinders the other,  
 Each of us two likes his art.  
 It (i.e. his art) delights them (or 'him') by itself  
 [or 'It delights him alone'].

## VIII.

He himself is master  
 Of the work which he does every day ;  
 To bring difficulty to clearness  
 At my own work (master) am I.

Note the rhyme of final accented long vowels with final unaccented short as in *chlú*—*ingnũ*, *glé*—*messě*; for the order in *frega fál*, *déne dul*, cf. *fidbaidce fál*; *fris-tarddam* is for rel. *frisa-tarddam*; in *subaigthius* the suffixed pronoun *us* is probably not plur. or fem. sing., but masc. sing. as frequently in Mid. Irish, and refers to *dán* (Thurn.).

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